SOCIETY
AND ITS
PROBLEMS

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SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIOLOGY

BY

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"SOCIAL PROBLEMS OF TO-DAY,"

"CRIME AND ITS PREVENTION,"

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PREFACE

When the present writer began work on an introductory college text in sociology he did not anticipate the wide use which would be made of the work. His aim was to write a practical working text in a simple, readable style, which would arouse the interest and hold the attention of the student. If students will not read a text that text is a failure and if the student does not obtain profit and pleasure from the reading the book has not accomplished what it should. The fact that some hundreds of schools have used *Society and Its Problems* as a text and that the 1922 edition alone passed through fourteen printings testifies that there has been a need for such a text.

The aim of the book is to give the student who takes but one course in sociology a general idea of the whole science, and to give the student who continues the subject a foundation for advanced work. Emphasis is placed on those topics that will be of greatest practical value to the student, such as immigration, the race question, the family, poverty, and crime, although other phases of the science, such as social forces, the evolution of institutions, and the general principles of social theory, are not neglected.

After treating the nature of sociology and of the forces which control society, the author discusses one by one certain of the fundamental problems. First comes a study of population, birth and death rates, and movements of population. This leads to those perplexing problems, immigration, the overcrowding of cities, and race antagonisms. The next two parts deal with society and its problems from within—the evolution of the family and the home, religion, ethics, and education, social interests, social processes, social control and organization. Then comes the treatment of maladjustments, poverty, crime, immorality, and mental defects.

It will thus be seen that the author's purpose has been to present a broad view of the fundamentals as the first step to the study of sociology itself. At the end of each chapter a list of references is given, which will broaden the reader's equipment on any special line in which he may be interested.

While this book is primarily intended for students of sociology, it is by no means limited in its appeal to them. It presupposes no previous training in the subject. The hope that the work would be adaptable to other students and general readers outside of the classroom has been more than justified by its wide use in extension classes and teachers' reading circles. It is hoped that the additions and corrections made in the revised edition will only add to this usefulness.

The author endeavors to show that our dealing with social problems is constantly advancing to a higher and more enlightened plane. He takes an optimistic view of present-day society because of this fact; and while recognizing that many serious problems yet remain unsolved, believes the method of approach to such matters is constantly becoming more rational and efficient.

While the general plan of the earlier edition of the book has been kept many changes have been made. Not only have the statistical and other factual data been brought down to date but the entire work has been thoroughly overhauled and approximately a hundred pages of new material added. Two entirely new chapters on Cultural Forces and Social Processes have been added. The chapters on Immigration, the American Race Problem, Problems of the Modern Family, Instincts, and Crime have been entirely rewritten and in at least two of these chapters the viewpoint has been radically changed. Other parts of the book have been revised and expanded in line with recent changes in the science and in the conditions of society. The reference lists have been carefully revised, many of the older references being omitted and more recent ones added. The names of publishers have been added as a convenience to individuals in ordering books.

But perhaps the most important single feature of the revision has been the improvement of the theoretical portions of the book without weakening the treatment of practical social problems. Not only have the purely theoretical portions been expanded but more theory has been woven into other portions of the book.

In a work of this nature it is impossible to acknowledge all one's obligations to others, but wherever possible the author has endeavored to give credit where credit is due. He does, however, wish to acknowledge his general indebtedness to previous writers, former teachers, former students, and to the many teachers who after using the book as a text have made suggestions for changes and corrections. He wishes especially to express his appreciation to his former colleague, Professor O. C. Bradbury, now Head of the Department of Biology, Wake Forest College, for his assistance in the preparation of the chapter on Variation, Heredity and Eugenics; to Mr. J. Walker McSpadden for expert editorial revision of the 1922 edition; to Professor Seba Eldridge, of the University of Kansas, for similar aid on the revised edition; and to Mrs. Dow for her timely suggestions and aid throughout the entire work.

G. S. Dow

January 2, 1929.

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Part I

INTRODUCTION

SOCIETY AND ITS PROBLEMS

CHAPTER I

THE NATURE OF SOCIOLOGY

What Is Sociology?—While it is not unusual nowadays to begin a text-book without supplying a definition, the author considers it entirely unsafe to start the tyro in the science of sociology without furnishing him with some idea of its nature. Nearly every student entering an introductory course in sociology has a more or less hazy conception of the subject; he thinks that it will probably take up some such topics as poverty, crime, vice and intemperance, and that it will include an investigation of slums and a consideration of other causes of the miseries of humanity. Yet if this same student were asked to point out the difference between sociology and socialism, he would probably be at a loss.

There are almost as many definitions of sociology as there are text-books, and although the majority of these definitions are more or less incomplete, the author hesitates to add another to the collection. Sociology has been defined as "the science of society," "the scientific study of society," "the science of social phenomena," "the study of human association," "the science of the social process," "the science of the social relation," and as "the science which treats of the phenomena of society arising from the association of mankind." Probably the clearest and best definition given to date is that furnished by Professor Ellwood,[1] who calls it "the science which deals with hu-

[1] *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*, p. 13, rev. ed. 1924 (American Book Co.).

man association, its origin, development, forms and functions."

Different Conceptions of Sociology.—The reason for the differences in the definitions of sociology lies largely in the various conceptions held by sociologists of the scope of the science. Some look upon sociology as an inclusive science, embracing all phases of human relationships; others ascribe to it but a limited field, restricting it to a technical analysis of the forms of association or of the different groups found among men. Therefore, before attempting another definition of sociology and outlining what we shall expect to study, we should take a glance at these existing conceptions, or, perhaps we ought to say, groups of conceptions held by the leading sociologists.

1. *Sociology as a Study of Social Problems.*—As we suggested in our first paragraph, the idea that sociology is a study of social problems is the notion held by the majority of those who have not studied sociology, and unfortunately by a few who have, or at least think that they have, studied the science. While sociology undoubtedly does treat of the evils found in society and of their remedies, it is not confined to them. Sociology treats of the normal as well as the abnormal; it analyzes the healthy phases of society as well as the unhealthy; in fact, it regards the abnormal, unhealthy phases of society as examples of maladjustment, as examples of what ought not to be; it considers the evils of society as exceptions to the normal evolution of society. Such phases it relegates to one side, or one corner of the field of the science. Different branches of sociology, such as penology or criminology, are devoted exclusively to these unwholesome, abnormal elements of society. While these, without doubt, are among the most popular parts of the science, they are by no means all of it. The attraction which these phases have for many people accounts for the widespread misconception.

2. *Sociology as a Theoretical Analysis of Human Association.*—A view held, not by those ignorant of the science,

but by professed sociologists, is that sociology is an analysis of human association. The nature of this analysis depends upon the sociologist. Professor Simmel regarded sociology as the science of the order or organization of society. Professor Small limited it almost exclusively to the study of groups and group action. Professor Giddings has worked out a very elaborate system, based chiefly upon the sociability trait of mankind. Others treat it as a study of human interests and of the forces that control human action. Still others limit it to a study of the present organization of society. The criticism of these conceptions is much the same as that made of the popular idea—they take up only one side of the science. Each type of treatment is unquestionably sociology; but each is too narrow to stand for the whole science. Each deals with only one phase of the science. The trouble lies in the fact that sociology is a new science; when a sociologist develops a new theory, he tends to subordinate everything social to it; so he tries to build a whole science upon what ought to be only the foundation of one wing of the structure, instead of the whole building.

3. *Sociology as the Study of Civilization.*—Professor Ward, one of America's foremost sociologists, while admitting the importance of other phases of the science, confined his attention to the development of human institutions, such as the state, the family, religion, language, and education; in other words, sociology as a study of civilization. While these subjects are among the most important phases of the science, it should be understood that they include political science, economics, and history, as well as sociology. Moreover, with such limitations as these, it is not possible to give sufficient attention to present conditions—a subject in which the ordinary student of the science is much more interested than he is in the state of society twenty-five thousand years ago, for he looks naturally to it for aid in living the life set before him. The study of civilization gives us, however, our ideas in regard to the evolution of society; and herein lies its chief value.

4. *Sociology as a Social Psychology.*—Another conception quite often held is that sociology treats society in much the same way as psychology treats the individual—that it is a study of the social mind, an interpretation of what man does, why he does it, and how he does it. This again is a part of sociology, but not all. This, while an important phase of the science, is perhaps the most difficult one and for that reason has been less fully investigated than any other.

As has already been indicated, sociology is not one but all of these things. Sociology deals with human association, with the origin, the development, forms, and functions of society. It includes as subjects of study the origin and development of human institutions; the forms through which society has passed; the organization of society to-day, and present-day conditions; interests which prompt human action; the forces which exist in and control society; and the social mind.

Sociology may be divided into theoretical and practical, or, as they are often called, pure and applied. The former deals with the origin and development of institutions, the analysis of human interests, social forces, and social psychology; the latter takes up the conditions found in society to-day and generally gives special attention to the problem side. This volume will attempt to cover both theoretical and practical sociology, but will give special emphasis to the practical side.

What Is Society?—As we have stated, sociology is the study of human association—society; and before going further, we must have a common understanding of the meaning of this term. Here again we find a difference of opinion. Some sociologists have looked upon *society* as merely another term for *humanity,* or *mankind.* Others have treated it as synonymous with the term *nation;* this, however, is not the commonly accepted view; in fact, it is one generally discarded. Others look upon *society* as standing for a certain select or special aggregation or *cultural group.* Sometimes the word is used as referring to *social intercourse.* It is, however, becoming the accepted practice

in sociology to consider *society* as meaning the *group*, that is, an indefinite number of persons bound together by more or less permanent relations, as a family, a club, a fraternity, a class, a party thrown together at random in travel, or, in general, any body of persons united by some tie, even though that tie be weak and transitory. Ellwood defines *society* as "any group of psychically interacting individuals."[2] Yet at times *society* does undoubtedly refer to the nation, to a race, or even to humanity, but even then it regards the nation, the race and humanity as expanded groups. It is more concerned with the phenomena of the association of the members of the group than with the individuals composing the group.

Professor Giddings has very carefully analyzed the modes of association into eight different kinds, which he calls the sympathetic, congenial, approbational, despotic, authoritative, conspiritual, contractual, and idealistic.[3] While this scheme is elaborate and shows much ingenuity, it is not specially helpful, as it tends to confuse rather than to clarify.

Complexity of the Social Process.—The social order cannot be explained by any one principle or set of principles, or shown to be the result of any one force, as Professor Tarde, for instance, tried to demonstrate by using as the key to all social phenomena the one principle, imitation. Neither will any such key as "consciousness of kind" or "occupational group" unlock the door. Human association is too complicated and intricate to be so explained. Different forces are constantly at work in society, some in co-operation, and some in opposition to each other. Too many interests prompt human action to be explained by any particular set of motives. But though the organization of society can be reduced to some sort of order and system, it is by no means an easy thing to do. While it might be more logical, therefore, to take up the analysis of society at this point than to postpone

[2] Ellwood, C. A., *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, p. 13. (Appleton, 1912).

[3] *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. X, pp. 161-176.

it until later, we shall study the forces that affect society, the people that make up society, and the development of the institutions in society, before we analyze human nature, the interests that prompt men to act, and social control and organization.

However, we may notice here for the purpose of illustrating the complexity of society, the principle of co-operation, which is always at work, whether consciously or unconsciously, willingly or unwillingly. In order to get a conception of this principle, one has only to consider the number of persons who take part in producing any one commodity, bread, for illustration, which sells for a few cents a loaf. Not only the grocer who sold the bread and the baker who made the loaf, but also the railway employees who handled the flour; the miller who ground the wheat; the men who made the machinery used in the mill, the cars on the railroad, or even the mill itself, and those who laid the track for the railroads; the other railway employees who carried the wheat to the mill; the farmer who grew the grain; the men who made the farm machinery used in raising and harvesting the grain; the miners who brought the ore out of the ground, and the lumbermen who cut the lumber used in the machinery, as well as the men employed in the more immediate process of handling the grain or flour—all helped to produce the inexpensive loaf of bread. In fact, we should be obliged to go back several years to find all of the persons who had a part in the production of that one item.

The same is true of every other commodity produced. It is a complicated world in which we live, a vast machinery which man has constructed. Human association is too intricate to lend itself easily to explanation. Man cannot be isolated; he cannot live without his fellow beings. He must come into contact with them.

The Relation of Sociology to the Other Sciences.—When sociologists, like Comte and Ward, attempt to classify all the sciences, they generally rank sociology either as the leading science, or else assert that sociology includes the bulk

of the other sciences, especially those most closely related to it—economics, political science, religion, ethics, history, and anthropology. The principal result of these extravagant claims has been to antagonize the other sciences, and to cause sociology to be discredited because of its laying claims to fields of thought which it not only cannot adequately cover, but to which it has no valid claim. For a new science suddenly to appear and appropriate to itself, on the basis of a new classification, subjects which have been cultivated and worked over for long periods of time, is too much to be conceded, and the attempt at appropriation has hindered rather than advanced sociology.

In the present study we shall make no such assumption for sociology; we shall not try to prove that it is the *scientia scientiarum,* or that it includes within its domain any of the older sciences. Sociology has its own boundaries, which include a territory large enough to afford sociologists ample room for work and investigation. Sociology does, however, border on other sciences and invade their fields at times, but no more than they, in turn, encroach upon its domain.

There is what might be called a fund of human knowledge from which all sciences draw, a sort of common forest to which each goes for its raw material. Sociology takes from this common source of supply facts of which other sciences also avail themselves, and uses them as timber in the building of its own structures. It may take the same information and dispose of it in a manner entirely different from that of some other sciences. For example, we know that the Normans conquered England; history makes use of that fact for its purposes; so does sociology in illustrating its theory of social assimilation or the mingling of races. Art, religion, ethics, economics and political science may make use of this same fact, but each will use it in its own way, from its own point of view. Sociology makes use of investigations of other sciences, such as chemistry, geology and economics; but it, on the other hand, makes investigations into such ques-

tions as standards of living, human interests, causes and conditions of poverty, and the like, the results of which are, in turn, used by other sciences. Because sociology considers problems and conditions which other sciences, especially economics and history, do not know how to handle, it has often been called "the science of left-overs"; however, this accusation is no more true of sociology than it is of other sciences, except insofar as sociologists have at times been puzzled to know how to limit their field and to classify their material.

In order to observe more closely the position of sociology in regard to the other sciences, let us consider its relations to some of its nearest neighbors.

1. *Sociology and Economics.*—Possibly the nearest neighbor to sociology is economics, the science of wealth, which deals with the phenomena resulting from the wealth-getting and wealth-using activities of man—a province much more definitely marked out and limited than that of sociology. Economics takes up the production, distribution, and consumption of wealth, and works out laws or principles in regard to such activities. When sociology has to deal with problems or conditions involving the distribution of wealth, such as poverty, for illustration, it must necessarily go to economics for the principles underlying and the laws governing the distribution of wealth. Again, when sociology deals with phenomena involving the production of wealth, sociology must go to economics for the purpose of learning the factors involved. On the other hand, when economics deals with exchange of wealth, it must go to sociology for an understanding of the human interests which cause people to desire articles they do not possess and to be willing to exchange other things for them. Economics must go to sociology and also to psychology for a knowledge of the forces which control human action. Economics cannot explain the desire of man for sociability, his craving for companionship, although it must recognize this as a factor in the distribution of wealth. Custom, habit, imitation, and similar factors are constantly making themselves felt in

the economic world, and economics must learn of sociology as well as of psychology the laws or principles governing these, in the same manner that sociology is obliged to go to economics for much of its data. Sociology must depend upon economics in matters involving the production, distribution and consumption of wealth; economics must depend upon sociology in matters connected with human association or the social activities of man. Each is indispensable to the other; but neither can be said to be a part of the other, although over-enthusiastic students of both sciences sometimes make such assertions. There is a border-ground, claimed more or less by each, involving such problems as poverty, labor, and the movements and increase of population, where it is hard to draw the line between the two.

2. *Sociology and Political Science.*—Political science, or as it is often called, the science of government, deals with such problems as the origin, nature, forms and functions of the state; the location of sovereignty, and the questions of administration. It has a relation to sociology very similar to that of economics to sociology. The state is one of the leading institutions of society and as such comes in for treatment under sociology; therefore the origin and development of the state are phenomena treated by both sciences. Here, possibly, political science is more dependent upon sociology than the reverse, for political science has to come to sociology for a knowledge of the principles of social control, as well as other basic principles which must be considered in the administration of government. Sociology uses the facts of political science chiefly for the purpose of illustrating some of its general principles. The line between the two is much clearer than between sociology and economics, and because of this there is less friction between them.

3. *Sociology and History.*—History is a more or less concrete science, and therefore is much more definite than sociology. It treats of the past actions of man—what

man has done, and how he did it. Sociology must go to history constantly for material, for information, for illustrations, and for the proof of its principles, as well as for explanation of its problems. On the other hand, history has to depend upon sociology, also psychology, for an explanation of the motives prompting man to act. There is little conflict between sociology and objective history, although a few historians would include all sociology in history; but when it comes to some of the subdivisions or branches of history, like historiography and the philosophy of history, the lines of distinction fade. Many historians assert, for example, that sociology is little more than a philosophy of history, although the latter has never dealt with more than a very few of its problems. On the whole, the distinction here is much better drawn than it is between sociology and economics. Each is dependent upon the other, although history could probably get along much better without sociology than vice versa. History, at any rate, did exist for hundreds of years before sociology arose, but the newer study has vitalized the old by adding meaning and human interest to what was mainly a collection of facts. In short, sociology has socialized history and has broadened it. History no longer concerns itself only with battles, the doings of rulers, and the acts of the nobility; it gives attention now to the life of the common people, their standards of living, ideals, habits and customs, as well as to the acts of their rulers. If this were the only contribution sociology had made to science, its mission would be amply justified.

4. *Sociology and Anthropology.*—Anthropology, or the study of man considered zoölogically or ethnographically, generally regarded as a study of primitive man, stands in much the same relation to sociology as does history. Sociology uses anthropology as a source-book of facts concerning primitive man: his early history and the origin and development of his institutions, such as the family, the state, and religion. Anthropology, like history, has been broadened by sociology, being changed

from a mere collection of materials to an attempt to trace the evolution of society from its beginning to the present. Anthropology in turn has also greatly influenced sociology, particularly in showing that the desires, motives and interests of primitive man are much like those of modern man and that modern customs and institutions are survivals of or evolutions from those of our primitive ancestors. Thus these two sciences have progressed together. Because of their close connection and mutual dependence it is often difficult to tell where one science leaves off and the other begins, but in general anthropology deals with the primitive or pre-literate and sociology with the present and historical.

5. *Sociology and Ethics.*—The relationship existing between sociology and ethics is not so easily traced. Ethics, the science of morality, deals with what ought to be; it is idealistic, although it has to take cognizance of social facts; while sociology deals with what has been and with what is. For such information ethics relies upon sociology, although ethics does not attempt to manipulate these facts except insofar as they relate to what ought to be. Ethics deals with standards, ideals, and norms. Sociology, while it leads up to ideals, does not discuss them; it merely considers things as they are. In other words, sociology leads towards ethics, but stops before reaching it. Ethics, being a science of values and ideals, invades all realms of activity and attempts to set up standards of action. It is dependent, not only upon sociology, but likewise upon nearly all the sciences, although supported more directly by sociology than by any other.

6. *Sociology and the Natural Sciences.*—For the sociologist the most important of the physical sciences is biology. It furnishes sociology with the facts of physical life, particularly with regard to nerve structure, the relation of the organism to its environment, and so forth. Sociology must derive from biology a knowledge of the processes of heredity and organic development. Indeed

it must obtain from biology all the facts it needs respecting animal life. In the same way, sociology must go to chemistry, physics, geology, geography, and the other natural sciences for specific information. None of these has, however, much need for sociology; though sociology is capable of contributing to the understanding of these sciences insofar as they are regarded as cooperative or social enterprises.

7. *Sociology and Psychology.*—Psychology, like economics, is a near neighbor to sociology. Each constantly invades the other's territory, for the boundaries are hard to distinguish. Psychology, the science of consciousness and of behavior, deals essentially with the individual; while sociology deals with the group; this is the chief distinction between them. To be a sociologist one must be a psychologist, to understand society one must know the principles of psychology. For since psychology is a study of the individual mind, and since society is composed of individuals, to understand the social mind one must necessarily understand the individual mind. Although the individual will often act and think differently when in a group than when alone, his mental processes are the same. And many of the forces that control human action, and the interests that prompt man to act, can be explained only by psychology. Many people look upon sociology as social psychology, consisting merely of a psychical analysis of society. While social psychology is a very important part of sociology, especially of pure or theoretical sociology, and, in reality, affects all phases of the science, it is by no means the whole of it. Social psychology is merely that side of sociology which faces psychology. It is the border-land between the two sciences and is of course claimed by both. Sociology is as dependent upon psychology as psychology is upon biology; it needs psychology as much as it needs economics, though probably no more. A number of sociologists, especially Tarde and Giddings, have taken certain psychological principles and have built whole systems of sociology upon them.

This is, of course, carrying the relationship to the extreme; but fully to interpret society, the sociologist must recognize the psychical forces at work and, as far as possible, explain them.

Other sciences might be mentioned as having some bearing upon sociology, but the above are the most closely related; and of these the most important are economics, psychology, history and biology.

Several of the sciences touched upon in the preceding paragraphs form what is generally called the social science group, because of the close relation each science has to society and to the others in the group. But as to just what sciences should be included there is no consensus of opinion. Everyone recognizes the justification for including sociology, economics, political science, and anthropology; and nearly everyone includes history. Some add ethics and religion, and a few, psychology. Such a classification is usually made from a pedagogical point of view, because it helps to clear up the perplexity liable to arise in the mind of the student. Blackmar and Gillin[4] give perhaps the best classification of the social sciences, with the principal subheads under each class, as follows:

I. Ethics.
   - Principles of Ethics.
   - History of Ethics.
   - Social Ethics.

II. Economics.
   - Economic Theory and Institutions.
   - Economic Politics.
   - Industrial History.
   - Labor Legislation.
   - Banking and Monetary Theory.
   - Taxation and Finance.

III. Politics.
   - Political Theory.
   - Diplomacy and International Law.
   - National Administration.

[4] *Outlines of Sociology*, pp. 27-28 (Macmillan, rev. ed. 1923).

Municipal Administration.
Constitutional Law.
Colonial Administration.

IV. History.
Political History.
History of Institutions.
Social History.
Historical Geography.

V. Sociology.
Descriptive Sociology.
Social Origins.
Social Evolution.
Social Pathology.
Socialization and Social Control.
Social Psychology.
History of Sociology.

VI. Anthropology.
General Anthropology.
Ethnology.
Ethnography.
Somatology.
Archeology.

VII. Comparative Religion.

Additions might be made to this list; it is by no means offered as the only method of arrangement, but as perhaps the best one suggested so far. At any rate it serves our purpose by helping to show the relationship existing between the sciences commonly called social.

Sociology a General Science.—Sociology has often been criticized for being too general, too loosely put together; it has been attacked because it does not draw hard and fast lines, because it cannot say that such and such will happen. In chemistry whenever two or more elements are put together in certain proportions, the result will always be the same if the conditions are uniform. Likewise in physics, the laws of the lever, of gravitation, etc., always act uniformly when conditions are the same. In mathematics exact results are obtained; in fact, mathematical results are the best illustration of scientific ac-

curacy. Chemistry, physics and mathematics are exact sciences, where definite laws can be formulated. Sociology does not exhibit such undeviating precision. If two persons had the same environment—but of course two persons can never have exactly the same environment—they might turn out opposite in character; the one might become an altruistic social worker, and the other a dangerous criminal; or the one might become a spendthrift, the other a millionaire. The factors are too many and varied to permit the formulation of definite laws. No two persons are alike; hence they will not always act similarly under the same stimulus, if such can be obtained.

Because sociology cannot lay down exact and comprehensive laws, many persons go so far as to deny to it the honor of being called a science. Such criticisms are becoming fewer as people become more familiar with it. It is being recognized that each science has its own methods and peculiarities. It would be as fair and valid to criticize biology because it rearranges its theories every now and then; or to berate economics because the economists cannot agree among themselves as to what interest, rent, and labor really are, as it is to criticize sociology because it cannot lay down any definite, hard-and-fast laws. Sociology has its laws, but they are not iron-clad; they are rather statements of tendencies or generalizations. In short, they are broad summaries of general conditions, which will be likely to hold good in the majority of cases.

The same is true in tracing periods in social history; seldom can definite dates be given, at least for humanity in general. Different races or peoples may adopt the same invention, but at vastly different dates. They may pass through like stages of culture, but at widely varying periods of time. One race or nation may progress rapidly, while another not far distant may progress much more slowly. The contributing factors are too many and varied to be all taken into consideration. In fact, only a few of the most evident factors are ever known. If we could

perceive all the forces at work and recognize all the determining conditions, then we might be able to predict as accurately what would happen as does the chemist when he combines various elements.

Therefore, in our study of sociology we shall not meet exactly formulated universal laws, like those with which we are familiar in mathematics and physics; nevertheless we must not ignore social laws, for they are equal in importance to the laws derived in the exact sciences.

Sociology deals with the phenomena, principles and facts of human association. In discussing these, we must notice the origin and development of society, the interests prompting human action and the forces controlling man, and the present organization of society, as well as the problems confronting society. In following this general plan we shall first study population—the effect of nature upon population, human migration and the mixture of races; this will lead us to our present-day problems of immigration and racial differences. Second, we shall trace the evolution of society, giving special attention to the family, the state and religion. Third, we shall analyze the organization of present-day society, first in its normal or healthy aspect, then in its abnormal or pathological aspect. And finally we may take a glimpse into the future in an attempt to forecast future social progress.

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Part II

SOCIAL FORCES

CHAPTER II

GEOGRAPHICAL FORCES; THE INFLUENCE OF GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT UPON THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIETY

The influence of geographic environment upon society is one which many writers ignore entirely, and one which a few, especially Buckle and Miss Semple, emphasize far more than there is any warrant for. In this chapter that influence will be considered as one of the moulders of social life, but not as the chief factor.

Influence Upon Population.—Man, like all other species of the animal kingdom, is dependent on his environment for his existence. This dependence was much more immediate with primitive than it is with civilized man, for primitive man lived by the direct appropriation of the gifts of nature. He subsisted upon berries, fruits, nuts, shellfish, and, in fact, anything edible on which he could lay his hands. Since his very existence was thus dependent upon his environment, he had to live in those localities where food could be obtained. Later when he added fish to his bill of fare he was drawn toward the streams and the seashore, in order to get this more staple form of food; when he began to hunt he moved to the regions where game could be found. Still later when he began to domesticate animals he sought the grassy regions where his cattle could feed. And when agriculture was also added as a means of providing food the bond between him and the environment was still closer, because the cultivation of the crops could be successfully pursued only where the soil was of sufficient richness, where there was a sufficient amount of rainfall, and where

the climate provided the right temperature.[1] The adoption of each new method of getting food did not make man less dependent upon nature; it simply made him less dependent upon one particular condition of nature. If one means of subsistence failed he had the others to fall back upon.

Climate determines to a great extent the amount and kind of food that man needs. The functions of food are to give warmth to the body and repair tissues worn out by bodily activity. If man lives in a cold region he not only must have more food but it must be of a different kind; it must supply greater heat, and hence must be made up more of fats. Also in a cold climate greater exertion is necessary to provide a living; hence the amount of actual energy expended by the body is greater and more food is required. In a warm region less exertion is necessary—in fact, little is required; so there is less energy expended and less need of fats; fruits are preferred for food. Moreover in the warm climates food is abundant; because slight exertion is necessary, little ingenuity is required; hence, as we shall see later, the warm regions never produce the sturdy, ingenious races of people that the colder regions develop.

This is one reason why practically all conquering races come from the north, and why a great continent like Africa and an immense territory like India are easily conquered by small European nations. Indeed all through the past it has been from the north that the conquering races have come. The very fact that these peoples had to work indefatigably to make a living made them energetic and resourceful; their constant, keen battle with nature and their struggles to withstand hardships made them brave and fearless. On the other hand, those peoples living in a warm region where food was abundant did not have to worry about the future; they were able to support themselves with little work; they became therefore indolent, unresourceful and timid.

[1] It is not implied that this is the logical or the typical order of industrial development; but it will serve the purpose of illustration.

Before trade and commerce were developed enough to bring food from other places, the amount of food produced by any region determined the number of people who could live there. This explains why we find civilization first developing in the rich river valleys of the Tigris-Euphrates and the Nile. These regions were able to support a large population, many people came into contact with each other, exchanged ideas, and so progressed more rapidly than in other regions where only a few could live. Land used for grazing will not support a large population but it will support more than if it were used for hunting, for domestic animals can be raised on a smaller space than that required by wild animals sufficiently numerous to supply food. Fishing will support a larger population than hunting or grazing, if the fish are abundant, as in a large lake, river, or sea. Agriculture will provide for still more; but even here the kinds of plants cultivated have to be considered. Potatoes, for example, require much less space than corn or wheat; bananas require even less than potatoes. Where population increases, more intensive methods of cultivation are used, the plants being grown which require little space. Thus the population which a region can support depends upon its soil, its rainfall, and its temperature, unless a deficiency is made up in some other way. In modern times trade, commerce and manufacturing have been developed as substitutes for the basic occupations, enabling the people to produce other commodities to exchange for food. If Great Britain and the New England states were not able to manufacture goods to exchange for other necessities they would not be able to support their present dense populations.

Effect on the Life of the People.—Geographical conditions not only affect the food supply but also influence almost every phase of the life of the people. The climate determines whether much or little clothing is required. In the case of animals nature regulates this herself, supplying a coat of fur or hair to offset a falling in the temperature. Man is not thus looked after, but is required

to provide for himself. However, in cold regions furs and feathers can be obtained, while in the warm regions reeds, grasses, fibers and barks can be used, man nearly always finding at hand the materials necessary to provide suitable clothing. This matter is not so important as one would perhaps think, for, as we shall see later, the wearing of clothing has been developed for the sake of ornament rather than for protection to the body. The case of shelter is much the same; in warm countries little is needed; in colder regions more must be provided. Probably the most important effect is, that the struggle for food, clothing, and shelter in the colder regions develops energy and resourcefulness—characteristics which are not so well developed in the warmer zones.

Effect Upon Economic Development.—The country in which people live also determines their occupation. If there is an abundance of game, man will hunt; if the streams are well stocked with fish, he will fish. If the country is suitable for grazing, he will domesticate animals and become pastoral. If the soil is productive, he will become an agriculturalist. If he lives on the coast, where he can get materials for ships, and is not too strongly tempted by the productiveness of the land, he will become a sailor. If a group of people is located between peoples who are engaged in different occupations, as agricultural tribes on one side and pastoral on the other, it is likely to become a commercial race, exchanging the commodities of its neighbors. The development of various industries among nations of the world has been largely owing to the geographical conditions which affect those countries. England has become an industrial nation because of her poor soil, abundance of fuel, and dense population. Because of exactly opposite conditions Denmark has become a highly developed agricultural nation. China became largely agricultural because of her rich river valleys. The Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Venetians, the Dutch, and later the English and the Germans took up commerce because of situations favorable to it, coupled with other inducements, such as

excess populations, and insufficient natural resources. Many Indian tribes in America remained hunters because of an abundance of game and the scarcity of the population.

In fact, the economic life of every nation has been molded, to a great extent, by geographic conditions. For not only has the occupation chosen by man—or perhaps we ought to say, the occupation forced upon him—been largely the result of environment, but also the success with which he has followed it is ascribable to natural conditions. If man were not able to produce more than he consumes, there would be nothing left over to serve as capital; hence there would be no industry, little leisure time, no education, and slight progress in civilization. Tibet, the Arctic regions, and the Caucasus are good examples of this state of affairs; furthermore, they are so situated that they could not develop commerce or industry. If we examine the different sections of the United States, we can find many illustrations of the influence of natural conditions. The fertile regions in various parts of the country, such as the Mississippi Valley and those found in California, Oregon, and Washington, are given over to agriculture; the hilly districts of New England are devoted to manufacturing and small gardening; that portion lying just west of the farming section, being too poor for the best farming, is taken up with cattle and sheep ranches. Each locality tries to do that for which it is best adapted. In recent years it has come to be adopted more and more as the policy of nations, that each country should try to produce those things for which it is best fitted, and not everything that it consumes.

The location of cities to-day is chiefly determined by economic factors. The production of foodstuffs, raw materials, and the discovery of mineral resources cause the growth of towns and cities. Industrial cities are located near the supply of raw materials, access to markets and cheap transportation as well as a supply of labor. Commercial cities arise where there are favorable transportation facilities, such as ports, waterways and railway con-

nections. While railroads supply the demands for means of transportation they follow the water level routes, and go through the mountain passes and valleys. So the growth of cities and density of population are to a great extent the result of geographical forces. Cities which are strategically located grow and those which are not either stand still or decline. These forces are not always apparent at first but they are almost invariably there.

Effect Upon Human Institutions.—In the case of government we notice that the type developed is largely the result of geographic environment. The development of democracy in the city-states of Greece was made possible by the mountain ranges which cut the country up into small sections. When the region is vast and yet remains isolated from other countries, conditions are much more favorable to the establishment of empires and unlimited monarchies, like those developed in Assyria, Persia, Russia and China. In countries where the people come into contact with those of other nations and have more opportunity to observe and think, we find the common people having a voice in the government, and the development of constitutional monarchies, free cities, and republics.

In regions made difficult to control because of their isolation we find lawlessness, brigandage, and absence of regular government; such have been the Caucasus, Afghanistan and Tibet, and such was, at the time of the arrival of the English, Northern India. Swamps, islands and mountains furnish refuge for pirates, brigands and other outlaws. The number of such places in the United States made law enforcement a great problem in the early days of the West. The Highlanders of Scotland were known as a lawless people even after Scotland as a whole became a very highly developed country. The Kurds and Tartars have always been thorns in the flesh of their neighbors; punishment of their outrages has been hindered by the geography of their countries. It has often been used in this country as an argument against prohibition, that in such sections as the mountain districts of Kentucky the law could not be enforced. So, while other factors must be

taken into consideration, the geographical features of the country do undoubtedly have a great influence on the development of government and the enforcement of law.

Policies of nations, such as colonial policy, for instance, are often dictated or at least influenced by geographic environment; that is, they are suggested or forced upon the country because of its location and expanding population. Policies of free trade or protection are influenced by location and occupation. England favors free trade because she cannot produce all her raw materials and must import them along with her food supply. The United States formerly was in the opposite situation and therefore held to the policy of protection; our increasing population is gradually changing our interests, and consequently our tariff policy.

When we study religion, we observe a psychical effect of environment upon man, not only the effect of the atmosphere, the appearance of the sky, and the breadth of landscape, but also his occupation, which, as we have already noticed, is itself largely determined by geographic factors. We find that most of the great religions of the world have been given us by shepherd or plains peoples, who have had opportunity to ponder over the mysteries of life; their beliefs were affected by direct contact with nature on the plains, where they could not help being impressed by the clear sky, the breadth of the view, and, as they led their flocks into the mountains in summer, by the grandeur of the scenery. Almost the only real exception to this is that of Buddhism, which originated in Southern Asia, but it was directly evolved from Brahmanism. On the contrary, we find, as a result of the complexity of life and the dangers from beasts and reptiles, the religions of peoples living in the tropics generally permeated with magic and superstitition. These tropical inhabitants could not explain nature, hence they believed that its workings were caused by spirits, which could be appeased only by magic.

Many social institutions, like slavery, have been fostered or prevented by the nature of the country. Slavery is

generally confined to warm regions, where labor is irksome and food abundant, where the work of one man can support two, and where the slave can be fed and clothed at little expense. In the United States slavery died out in the North because it was unprofitable; it flourished in the South because the slave could be worked to advantage on the large plantations. In the hilly regions of the South, particularly eastern Kentucky, eastern Tennessee, western Virginia, the western part of the Carolinas, and northern Georgia, slavery never did prosper and much of this territory favored the North in the Civil War. Likewise in Africa and Asia, slavery has flourished in those regions where the climate makes labor objectionable and where slave labor can be profitably employed. It is a fact that literature and education develop more in the northern or temperate climates; there are also more democracy and equality in these regions, especially in those countries which are so situated as to allow the inhabitants to come into contact with others.

Influence Upon the Family.—The position of woman in the family is governed largely by her importance as a provider. If her work is more important than that of her husband she either rules the family or has a great deal to say about the management of the home. When her work is a minor element she is relegated to the background. This is noticed in pastoral peoples, where she cannot tend the herds and as a result sinks into the position of a chattel. The same is true of hunting races, only here she is compelled to do the "dirty work" about the camp and become a drudge. Where life is cheap or living is hard we find infanticide practiced. In most of Africa woman occupies a place little better than that of a slave, while in the temperate zones she occupies a position more nearly equal to that of man.

In our study of the evolution of the family we shall see that such forms of the family as matriarchy, or mother rule, patriarchy, or father rule, and the various forms of polygamy are largely the result or outgrowth of geographical conditions. Such practices as the sale of children,

particularly the daughters, are often forced upon peoples by hard living conditions, such as famines, disasters and crop failures.

In newer countries, especially where pioneer conditions prevail, women are given greater freedom and privileges. This was true in the settling of America. Here women have greater opportunities offered them in the way of work and are able to render greater services, not only to their families but to society as well.

In the growth of industrial and commercial cities not only do women go into the factories, stores and offices but other unfavorable factors affect family life and as a result we find greater family disorganization as illustrated by divorces, desertions and separations. The family is less important as a unit in the city than in the country and so family life is more apt to break down. So, not only the forms of the family but the success of it as an institution depend to a large extent upon geographical factors. Many of these influences are indirect but they are there just the same.

Influence Upon the Character of the People.—The character of the people is influenced largely by geographic environment. As we have noticed, the colder climates produce the warrior class, since people from the colder countries have greater energy, courage, and ingenuity, while those in the warmer countries are more inclined to be indolent and improvident. The inhabitants of the warmer regions, as a rule, are more artistic, imaginative, and idealistic, their imagination being stimulated by their environment. They are also more hot-headed and impulsive, and have a lower estimate of the value of human life; life is easier with them, of less consequence; hence they are more apt to take life. Because of the greater exertion required, the northern peoples are as a rule hardier and more muscular, unless the climate is so severe that insufficient nourishment is provided. On the whole, the tropics have a deadening effect, while the colder regions have a stimulating effect.

Influence Upon Human Migration.—We find that the

movements of man have been governed by the geography of his country. If hemmed in by mountains, he was prevented from migration; if he lived on a plain, he could not keep from wandering. In his movements man has followed the tracks of least resistance, following river valleys instead of climbing mountains, going around seas instead of crossing them. In short he has gone where nature has allowed him to go. Deserts, swamps, mountains, oceans, seas, and even rivers have held him back, while the plain, the river valley and the coast line have tempted him to roam into new fields. America was not settled until very late in the history of man, because he could not get here. Europe, on the contrary, being easily entered was settled early. Products of countries have lured man on. The fur trade in Siberia, Alaska, and northern Canada was a great element in the settling of these countries. Ivory and rubber have drawn the European into Africa and South America, while gold and silver have lured him to the uttermost parts of the world, as the Klondike, northern Siberia, South Africa, Australia and Peru. This very call of nature has resulted in migration of populations, the building of railroads, towns and cities and the growth of population.

Effect on Recreation.—Even games and sports have been greatly influenced by geographic conditions. In the colder regions strenuous sports are indulged in, from the necessity to keep warm. The favorite games of the temperate zone are football, baseball, tennis, running, jumping, and similar games demanding muscular energy. Still farther north we find skiing, snow-shoeing and skating—sports utterly impossible in warm regions. In the tropics, exercise is not only not demanded but is irksome; hence recreation takes the form of inactivity, resting and avoidance of effort. We find Hindus and Chinese looking down upon Europeans because they indulge in violent sports, asking if it were not possible to hire coolies to play tennis or football and thus avoid the strenuous exercise; for them recreation is to sit still and do nothing. It is interesting to note, however, that the Chinese and Japanese as a result of contact with Europeans and Americans are rapidly adopting Occidental sports, especially tennis, baseball and

track athletics. This shows that the influences of nature can be offset, in part at least, by the contact with other cultures.

Influence on Social Progress.—Whether a race or nation has advanced in the scale of civilization, or has remained a backward people is largely a question of location. The peoples who have had favorable locations—in the temperate zone, on land which is productive and hence in demand, or on the coast where they can come into contact with others through trade or commerce—advance much more rapidly than those who are prevented by an unfavorable location from coming into contact with others. Also people in the temperate zone have a distinct advantage over those in the tropics where nature is too generous and where vitality is sapped, and this fact has a bearing on social progress. The size and strength of a nation may be limited by its boundaries; the mountains, seas, deserts, and swamps may keep it from expanding, and from advancing in civilization. Our backward peoples live in the inaccessible regions of the world, e.g., Tibet, Afghanistan, the jungles of Africa, or the out-of-the-way spots of the earth, like Australia, Madagascar and Tierra del Fuego. Whether a country is located in the interior or on the coast has much to do with its development. The interior location allows expansion; it also offers opportunity for conquest, although it does not allow as great intercourse with other peoples as a coast location. On the whole we find that the country which combines a large interior with a favorable coast region has a distinct advantage over the country that has only one of those features. The United States is very fortunate in having both. The nation that has but one strives for the other; Russia has striven for centuries for favorable outlets to the sea. The United States, in the early days of its history, had the coast, but was not content till it added an extensive interior. The preponderating influence of many small countries, like Phœnicia, Greece, England, and Holland, has largely been made possible by their position.

Location between two important countries allows the

acquisition of the culture and civilization of both, but it offers the danger of being overrun by either. Yet, on the other hand, we find that the struggle for existence becomes a struggle for space, and that the superior races take possession of the best land, crowd the inferior races into the undesirable locations, invade the domain of weaker peoples, and take it away from them; so we see that location is not everything. Yet in general, a favorable location is a great factor towards progress, while an unfavorable one is a handicap and check. This is one of the chief reasons why certain races have advanced and others have not done so. In order to study this still better let us consider in more detail the influences of the different geographical factors, such as water, mountains, plains, and climate, upon man's development.

Influence of Water Upon Man.—Man has always been essentially a land animal and has gone on the water only in quest of food and economic gain. While he has often settled near the sea or a river it has been because of the nearness to a supply of food and because of protection, the sea insuring him against surprise in that quarter, and the river at least causing the enemy delay before crossing, thus giving him time to defend himself. Man has even gone out into the water to build his home upon islands, or even on piles, so as to obtain greater security. Such houses have been found among the Malays and in the Swiss lakes; and history tells us that they were once resorted to near Thebes, affording the Greeks a refuge against the invading Persians. The sea has furnished man with an important addition to his food, thus permitting him to live in places otherwise uninhabitable, and has enabled him to go farther north than he could have done without its help. Barren regions are thereby made to support a denser population than they otherwise could, as in the case of Newfoundland, Norway, Alaska, and Japan. In fact, fisheries have been a great factor in maritime expansion, helping to people such regions as Alaska and the northeastern part of the United States. They have acted also as nurseries of seamen, lead-

ing to the commercial activities of New England in former days, of the Dutch, and of the Scandinavians.

The control over water has been a great factor in civilization, and has been a cause of wars between nations throughout history. Such was the contest between the Greeks and the Phœnicians over the control of the Aegean Sea; of the Carthaginians and the Romans over the Mediterranean; of France and England over certain fisheries, and of the United States with France and England over fishing rights. Control over inland seas, lakes, and harbors is of vast importance. Coasts are outlets to commerce and expansion, and inlets to inventions, improvements and new ideas; because of this harbors are highly prized.

The control over rivers is of equal importance, for rivers are highways of expansion and act as intermediaries between land and sea. A country with navigable rivers has an immense advantage over one without them. The Mississippi, Ohio, and Missouri rivers have been of inestimable value to this country, especially during its early development. Russia is handicapped by the fact that many of her rivers empty into the polar regions and that she has been unable to get a really serviceable seaport. Germany, like the United States, has a decided advantage in this respect. The control over the mouth of a river is of great strategic importance, since traffic becomes more important the nearer it gets to the mouth, including both exports and imports. River traffic was formerly of more importance than it is now since the introduction of the railroad. The United States was forced to gain control of the mouth of the Mississippi for the sake of national and economic development. The Mediterranean Sea has presented but limited advantages through not having many large rivers flowing into it. This prevented an early development of commerce and civilization for more than a few miles from the coast. The Baltic countries, on the contrary, have been more favored.

Coastal peoples, if their coast is accessible, always have an advantage over interior peoples because the coast acts

as a zone of transition, a meeting place for different cultures and civilizations. It is a place where peoples from other countries may land, bringing their ideas, habits, customs, and inventions. It acts as a gateway—an outlet for colonization and exportation, and an inlet for immigration and importation.

Colonies are always, or nearly always, planted near the shore; islands and peninsulas are first settled because they first come into the view of the explorers; and they also offer means of communication and an easy retreat in case of need to the home country. Later, colonization spreads inland and occupies larger territory. In the same way that peninsulas stretch out into the sea, and attract commerce, rivers, bays, and harbors reach inland and carry the contact of the sea with them, bringing commerce and rapid development.

If the coast is cut off from the interior by mountains, or has no suitable harbors, as is the case with much of Africa, or is marshy, as at the mouth of the Nile, commerce will not come. If, on the other hand, there are harbors, easy access to the interior, and articles of commerce near at hand, as in New England, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, and France, we find commerce developing rapidly. If, however, the interior is very rich—much richer than the coast—the coast will not tempt and the sea will not be a great influence, such being the case with much of Africa.

Because of these advantages coast peoples are usually superior to those in the interior, that is, if the coast is favorable. If inaccessible, or barren, or out of the track of commerce, the opposite is true. But as a rule coastal peoples develop first. If we take a glance at Asia we notice that civilization and progress are confined very closely to the coast, and that coastal people are far superior to the inhabitants of the interior. They are generally of mixed racial stock. Location on inland seas has much the same advantage as that on the ocean; in fact, such locations have acted earlier as means of intercourse and as cradles of commerce, for inland seas have not held

back people by the fear of the water as the ocean has. Although at first the ocean held man back, acting as a barrier, with the development of commerce the coast has become an aid to expansion; yet for political expansion it has not been as favorable as plains. Favorable location on the water has been the most potent factor in the advance of such nations as Phœnicia, Carthage, Holland, and England, and was one of the chief factors in the rise of Greece and Rome. Coastal peoples are generally characterized by fearlessness and daring, not only because of the risks of their occupations, but also because colonists are ordinarily the boldest and most venturesome of people. Therefore the coasts receive the daring and enterprising men and women of other nations; and similarly the reckless and irresponsible. Coastal people, because of the great variety of food offered them, generally are well fed and strong physically.

With the development of world commerce the ocean has had a unifying influence, has brought together all nations, and thus has carried the improvements and inventions of each locality to every other locality. By furnishing a cheap and quick means of transportation the water has made man a cosmopolitan being. With the discovery of America European civilization was brought to America, and the contributions that America had to make, such as the potato, maize, and the wealth of her mines, fisheries, and later her farms, were added to what Europe already had. So important to man has been the navigation of the sea, that the neutrality of the seas has been accepted as a fixed principle of international law.

Islands show a much greater variety of influences than coasts. Islanders generally resemble the people of the countries from which they come, sometimes improving upon them, as formerly in Crete, and sometimes falling backward. Islands were settled in many cases as places of refuge. With the development of transportation by water islands have lost their security and have been placed at a decided disadvantage. Because of their limited

area their ability to defend themselves is generally small and they fall easy victims to conquest. Athens had little trouble in holding in subjection the members of the Delian League; and Crete, almost since the beginning of history, has been subject to some other nation. Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily have been similarly held. All the islands of the East Indies are controlled by European powers, except the Philippines, and they were until recently. Nearly all the islands of the West Indies have been similarly held; all would have been but for the United States. The islands of the Pacific are owned by the different powers of the world; in fact, Japan is the only really independent island nation. Islands, especially those that are barren and inhospitable, are often used as prisons for convicts and political offenders: Sakhalin, New Caledonia, St. Helena, Elba, and Devil's Island being among the most noted.

Islands have often been places of survival of primitive peoples, customs and habits. In fact, after an island has been left outside of the track of progress it generally remains stationary while the rest of the world advances. Islands have been the homes of some of the most primitive races that still persist. Illustrations are Ceylon, Borneo, Madagascar, and New Zealand.

Islands are often barren and unproductive; quite frequently it is a problem for the inhabitants to live. Often artificial checks to population have been resorted to, such as infanticide, limitation of children through mutilation, late marriages, and even cannibalism. On the other hand, the supply of fish often allows a large population; sometimes when the living is hard, greater ingenuity is developed thereby. Since as a rule island climates are favorable, islands often become pleasure or health resorts. The pleasant climate frequently makes people care-free in disposition, and because they meet many strangers in the way of commerce and trade, if the islands are in the trade routes, they become hospitable.

Influence of Mountain Environment.—We have already suggested the effect of mountains as barriers, both as to

how they shut people up within their own ranges and keep others out—results of equal importance. Mountains prevent not only expansion and invasion but also progress, shutting out new ideas, improvements and inventions. They hinder the inhabitants from coming into contact with others, and tend to create a spirit of suspicion in regard to strangers. At the same time, however, a spirit of hardihood and independence is developed. Mountain people usually become fierce fighters and are seldom conquered, and if so, at great cost of life. Mountain states are rather numerous, such as Switzerland, Montenegro, Abyssinia, Afghanistan, and Tibet. Although small and in some cases barbarian, these otherwise insignificant states have nevertheless maintained their independence. Life is hard and primitive conditions frequently prevail, like those found in Tibet, Abyssinia, and Montenegro. As suggested before, they become places of refuge for the oppressed; in fact, the Caucasus is said to be the grave of races, nations, religions, customs, habits and ideals. The Rumanians have saved themselves a number of times by retiring into the Carpathians and letting the invaders pass on.

Mountains have also been places of refuge for criminals and the lawless classes; frequently we find mountaineers with marauding tendencies, being addicted to cattle stealing, brigandage, and plundering in general; the Afghans, Kurds, and the Scottish Highlanders have been noted for this. They also furnish mercenary soldiers; the Swiss were so employed for a long period of time. Because of a lack of occupations the mountain laborers often descend into the valleys; the Wallachs, Tyrolians, and other mountain inhabitants of the Carpathians and Alps send thousands into the valleys each year to help in the planting and harvesting of the crops. Mountain peoples are thus characterized by their independence, individualism, frugality, courage, and strong will, and they furnish the world sturdy races. They are imaginative and religious, the grandeur of the hills impressing them profoundly.

Influence of Plains, Steppes and Deserts.—The influ-

ence of plains is of two kinds, resulting from the fact that plains are of two classes—the plains which are productive, and those which are unproductive and barren. The former foster pastoral and agricultural occupations, and allow political expansion and the building up of vast empires. The influences that encourage uniformity of government and occupation also are effective in all forms of activity. The plains swallow up nationalities, languages and customs; they tend always to produce uniformity. There is no chance for separation, no opportunity for individualism.

The inhabitants of the deserts and barren wastes, such as are found in the Sahara, in Arabia, and in Mongolia, are generally pastoral or commercial by occupation, but they lack uniformity. They go in bands, and are often addicted to marauding and to sweeping down upon their more prosperous neighbors to carry off their wealth. Their mobility is great; it is often compulsory, because of scarcity of provisions. Many are compelled to migrate with the seasons, going to the hills during the hot season to find pasturage and back to the plains during the brief wet season. This compulsory roaming makes them nomadic, and they easily form bands for plundering. Their life being hard, they are fearless, ingenious, and watchful, and they make excellent fighters; no better cavalry can be found anywhere than the Russian Cossacks.

Plainsmen seldom unite in large armies; the Mohammedan conquest was an exceptional occurrence, made possible because of religious fanaticism. As a rule when they do conquer any region, they seldom interfere with the life of the common people, supplanting only the ruling class, as the Manchus did in China and as the Shepherd Kings did in Egypt. On the other hand, these people are hard to conquer because of the ease of retreat and the difficulty of pursuit. Hence the inhabitants of these regions of the world have generally maintained their independence in spite of powerful neighbors. The Arabs have enjoyed practical independence; the same is

true of the Mongols and the inhabitants of northern Africa. Because of scant diet such plainsmen are compelled to be frugal and are active, sinewy, and energetic. They are proud, even to the point of obstinacy, because of their independent, roaming life.

These people act as middlemen for the more productive regions near them; goods formerly were brought from the East to Europe by caravans of these wanderers of the desert, and this method is used in northern Africa to-day. In connection with this trade they have developed desert markets or trading centers; Timbuctoo in Africa and Bagdad and Damascus in Asia Minor formerly were famed as commercial centers. They have trafficked in slaves, thus helping to keep alive this institution. But probably the greatest contribution of these peoples to civilization has been the religious concepts they have formed and propagated. In history they have played an erratic but important rôle.

Influence of Climate.—The influence of climate has been both physiological and psychological. It has fixed limits to human habitation, determined the productivity of the soil, and affected man's whole life. It has affected him both directly and indirectly; directly by determining temperature conditions under which he shall live; indirectly by determining his food supply. The amount of rainfall determines the productiveness of the soil; for it is only in the last few years that man has been able to farm on a large scale without rain, although irrigation as a means of supplying water is very ancient. Climate has compelled man to migrate, a bad climate forcing him to leave, and a good climate tempting him to enter. It has affected human institutions, influencing the family by causing early marriages, many children, and little regard for life in warm climates; and late marriages and few children in colder ones. It has affected government, despotism existing more often in warm, unhealthful climates, and democracy in temperate zones. Slavery, as we have noticed, has been fostered in climates where work is irksome.

In warm climates we find greater extremes of wealth and poverty, wages being poor because of the low cost of labor, and at times because of competition with slave labor. Moreover, a warm climate, especially if continuous, has a detrimental effect; in fact, the individual or the race going to the tropics or to a warm, moist climate rapidly deteriorates. People in these regions become easy-going, hot-headed, yet imaginative and artistic, while those in colder climates are calmer, more thoughtful, and provident. Temperate zones offer a greater variety of climate, it being cold in winter and warm in summer, thus making possible a larger variety of occupations and furnishing more varied stimulus to mental activity. For this reason we find the nations located in the temperate zones more energetic, ambitious, and successful; as a result the north temperate zone is known as the cradle of civilization. Extreme cold produces much the same result as extreme warmth in that it becomes monotonous and has a deadening effect.

Nature not only selects the types which can survive but the different conditions of nature lure or invite different types of persons. The tropics appeal to those who love ease, leisure and freedom from labor. The less attractive but more stimulating regions of the temperate zone attract the energetic and sturdy. The new countries appeal to the same types, also the venturesome and daring. Mountains attract the lovers of freedom and solitude, also those for whom the beauty and grandeur of the mountains have an appeal. Rich river valleys and plains draw the tillers of the soil and those who wish to amass wealth. The plains and deserts lure the dreamers and lovers of solitude, and those who wish to think and philosophize. In this way nature acts as a selective agency.

The forces of nature affected primitive man directly. He was hemmed in by mountains and rivers and his path was blocked by large bodies of water. Nature afforded or denied him food, protection and shelter. His very existence depended largely upon nature. With modern man it is different. To-day he is not so dependent upon

nature for his existence, for he has artificial clothes, can preserve and transport food, build and heat dwellings. He can kill dangerous beasts, reptiles and insects, drain swamps and even keep comfortable in hot climates through artificial refrigeration. He is thus able to conquer or overcome the adversities of nature. On the other hand, the indirect effects have increased in the way of economic and commercial demands and needs. Nature still affects us but in a milder and subtler manner.

Not only the history but also the location and the size of the present nations have been affected by geographic conditions. Nature sets their boundaries, determines to a great extent their economic activity, influences their institutions and daily life, helps mold their character, and determines their chances of success in the advance of civilization. Yet we must not go to the extreme by saying that geography is everything; it is only one of the factors to be considered in studying the life of man. It may be very important but it is not all by any means; other contributing forces must be considered, such as heredity and human instincts; in fact, the economic, biological, and psychological factors are fully as important as the geographic.

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CHAPTER III

VARIATION, HEREDITY AND EUGENICS

In the previous chapter we considered the effects of geography upon the growth of society and the development of human institutions. In other places we consider economic effects and the control of society through its institutions. The purpose of this chapter is to show another approach to the study of sociology; to indicate the effects of heredity upon man and the development of society. In this undertaking, let us discuss the great biological theories and laws of variation and heredity, avoiding as much of the scientific terminology as possible, so that one who is not a biologist can grasp them. No attempt will be made to cover all phases of the various theories or laws, but only to touch those which will be useful to us in our attempt to arrive at a better understanding of the workings of society.

Theories and Laws of Variation and Heredity.—*Inheritance of Acquired Characteristics.*—Lamarck, the French zoölogist, gave this theory to the world in 1809. In his study of animals he had noted the adaptation of organs to environment and use; that muscles and various organs tended to develop with use and the demand for them. He also noted that various animals were peculiarly adapted to their particular environment, noticing the adaptation of the long neck of the giraffe to its feeding on the foliage of trees; also the long neck of the goose to its method of living; and the thick fur of Arctic animals. From these observations he worked out the following general laws: (1) Life by its internal forces tends continually to increase the volume of body and size of parts of the body up to a limit which it (life)

brings about. (2) The production of a new organ or part results from a new need or want (produced by a change in environment) and this need or want continues to be felt by the living material. (3) The development of organs and their power of action is in direct relation to the employment of the organ. If organs are not used they degenerate through disuse. (4) Characters which are acquired through use by an individual are inherited by the progeny, and are thus not only continued but increased; each new generation has the advantage of the development of the preceding one. This theory was never very carefully worked out by Lamarck and remained largely theoretical. Upon it, however, were based the evolutionary theories of many biologists. It has been largely disproved by the investigations of Weismann and others, and is to-day greatly discredited. Its greatest contribution was possibly the directing of attention towards a definite field of work, and thus furnishing a stimulus for more study and investigation.

Natural Selection.—This might be divided into "survival of the fittest" and "natural selection," but since they are really only different phases or expressions of the same general principle, both will be treated under one head. While more or less the gradual product of a period of time, we are indebted to Spencer, Darwin, and Wallace for the definite statement of this theory.

The idea of "the survival of the fittest" is easy to grasp, for it simply means that in the struggle for existence the strongest and most fit live and thus propagate and so survive; while the weakest and least fit die through starvation, disease, or at the hands of the stronger and more fit. By "fittest" we of course do not always mean strongest, for at times cunning, shrewdness, and the ability to overcome or avoid difficulties and dangers are of greater consequence than the mere matter of physical strength. At times "fittest" might even mean the possession of the greatest speed in running away from danger, or the ability to climb trees, or to hide or even avoid notice on the part of the enemy. The principle is

the same, however, whether it is a question of physical strength, mental keenness, cunning, speed, or the ability to overcome difficulties and survive in the face of danger. It is the most fit which survive and the least fit which are eliminated. Nor does this always mean the survival of the best, i.e., from the ethical or moral standpoint, for the "fittest" might mean the ability to live on the poorest food and to endure the greatest discomforts, and so represent the ability to survive in the face of difficulties. This principle is true not only in the struggle for food and other means of subsistence, but is equally valid in the struggle for mates. When two animals desire the same mate, and it becomes a question of fighting for her, it will be the best fighter which will win her and thus become the father of the next generation. Even when it is not left to the decision of combat, it is the one which is the most attractive, either by size, strength, beauty, or the ability to attract, which is selected and thus transmits these characteristics to succeeding generations.

The Natural Selection Theory has the following phases: (1) There are small variations in organisms in nature. (2) These variations will be of benefit or injury to the organism. (3) Certain variations will be selected in nature on account of the struggle for existence. (4) The struggle for existence is due to competition for food and other means of subsistence. (5) Out of this struggle will come the development of organisms with characters which fit them to survive. The organisms that have variations which do not fit them to survive will tend to be eliminated, and thus the variations will perish with them. The characters that are beneficial are passed on and increased, since the organisms possessing them are continually varying in that direction in succeeding generations. Thus according to *natural selection* nature selects the most fit by permitting them to live and by the elimination of the unfit. What is the most "fit" in one place might not be in another; thus it means that nature selects those qualities which are most adapted to the particular environment in question. Those individuals or races which

are adapted or able to adapt themselves to the environmental condition live and increase in numbers, while those not adapted or incapable of adaptation perish; thus whether a group will live, increase, or die out, will be a question of adaptation. In a desert country only those animals which are able to live on a small amount of water or are capable of going long periods of time without water will survive. Hence animals which are able to store up water, like the camel, or have skins or coverings which prevent or retard evaporation of moisture, tend to survive in desert countries. In contrast with this, in wet, rainy regions, only those animals which are capable of living under conditions of extreme moisture are able to survive. In Arctic regions only those animals which develop thick coats of fur or other means of protection, such as layers of fat, survive; also races which are energetic and provident are more apt to live in cold, bleak regions than those which are improvident and lazy. In tropical regions the opposite qualities are required, and those which can stand the heat or are able to adapt themselves to it survive.

Races of people which are less energetic, more contented, and have high birth-rates tend to live in some environments, while those of driving, nervous temperament, and with low birth-rates, tend to survive in other environments. We notice the working of this contrast in studying the characteristics of the Nordic and Negro races. In the bleak, cold regions of the Baltic and North Seas, where the Anglo-Saxon developed, there was an elimination of the weak, the improvident, the lazy, and the cowardly and the survival of the daring, the energetic, and the fighting types. In Africa, as we shall see in our study of our race problem, we have had the survival of extremely different characteristics. Again in China we find the survival of the complacent, thoughtful, frugal types and those capable of long periods of sustained exertion upon a limited supply of food. The variations which are advantageous not only persist but increase, while the variations which are not advantageous

do not persist. In this way we have a selection of the most fit. However, part of this selection may be social rather than natural, being cultural rather than biological. But again the culture or civilization may be the result of nature.

We have already considered how in the struggle for mates the most fit, both in fighting ability and in the powers of attraction, are selected. In this way the desired qualities will tend to be inherited, while the qualities which are not desired will be eliminated. This is generally called *sexual selection.* Among animals and birds especially, it applies to brilliancy of plumage, distinctive color patterns, and other markings. With man it means personal attraction and agreeableness of temperament, or the selection of the desired qualities and the passing on to the succeeding generations of these qualities or characteristics. This is merely another phase of the general law of natural selection.

Stock breeders make use of the principle of selection by the artificial selection of animals which possess the beginnings of desired modifications, such as exceptional speed in race-horses, extraordinary beef or milk-producing qualities in cattle, and quality of fur in fur-producing animals. They breed these animals with others having similar qualities, and eliminate all animals which do not have the desired qualities. Then the offspring which show the desired modifications are again selected and mated, and those which do not exhibit the characters which are wanted are again eliminated. In this way stocks are improved and new breeds produced.

Germinal Selection.—The next great theory of inheritance was the "germinal selection" theory of Weismann. This is directly opposed to the theory of inheritance of acquired characteristics, and was so ably demonstrated by Weismann and his followers that the former theory is now discredited in the minds of the majority of biologists. According to Weismann, the selection of characters is within the germ plasm. Combinations, both new and old, of characters are carried by the chromosomes

within the germ cell. The possible loss of characters comes about by means of these combinations. Characters are transmitted from parent to offspring through the germ cell, and new types arise only from changed types of germ cells. Weismann does admit a struggle of characters, but contends that this struggle of "determiners" is within the germ cell, and it is a struggle for the available food and favorable position in the germ cell, and that those which receive the food and obtain the favorable positions become the stronger. Then, in turn, these characters are passed on to the next generation, where they tend not only to persist but to increase in importance. In the same way the weaker characters, or "determiners," grow still weaker and in the course of time tend to be eliminated. While much of Weismann's theory, especially the speculative or philosophical phases, has been abandoned by biologists, his great contributions remain, especially in regard to the continuity of the germ plasm, the inheritance through it and the segregation and recombination of factors at the time of fertilization.

This theory does not exclude natural selection, but rather adds to and increases its importance, and helps to explain many details which natural selection was not able to do. It does, however, oppose and upset many of the theories of evolution based upon Lamarck's "inheritance of acquired characteristics" theory. While there have been many modifications of germinal selection, the theory still holds and is widely accepted. This theory is of vital importance to sociologists, especially those interested in constructive programs of reform for dealing with such problems as the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic, the criminal, and the vicious.

Mutation Theory.—Another theory, which is much less understood than the last two, is De Vries' "mutation theory." Briefly stated, it means a sudden or "overnight" change, or the sudden emergence of a new type. It is in part similar to the germ plasm theory, and in part based upon other laws of heredity, especially the Mendelian law. It is based upon the combinations of chromosome charac-

ters. The theory is now becoming generally accepted that these new types are really due to some new and peculiar combination of characters which already existed, with the possible elimination of some characters; so it is one of the variations or peculiar phases of that theory and explains the big changes which suddenly take place, instead of the small variations which usually occur. While not wholly understood, this theory is now being put into practice by breeders, and some of our new breeds or types, such as hornless cattle, are results of its application.

The Mendelian Law.—Last and most important of all, sociologically, is the biological law discovered by the Austrian monk, Mendel. The central feature of this discovery is the explanation of the "dominant" and "recessive" characteristics. The dominant character tends to be inherited in a much greater ratio than the recessive characters. While estimates as to the exactness of this ratio differ, it is in the general proportion of three to one. While we are still experimenting with animals and observing and tabulating results, we are slowly finding out with human beings what some of these dominant and recessive characters are. For instance, we have noticed and generally accepted that dark hair is dominant over light; brown eyes over blue; average intellect over the very brilliant or the dull; normal minds over feeble-mindedness, and many forms of insanity and irregularities of the nervous system. All normal characteristics are not dominant, however, over defects.

Another feature of Mendelism is the phenomenon of segregation of the determiners. While factors may unite in a common germ plasm for a single generation, they separate pure and unmodified in the next and subsequent generations. In other words, a germ cell is composed of a number of separately inherited factors, which are capable of a vast amount of groupings and regroupings. If two characters differ with respect to a single factor and dominance is complete the segregation in the second generation after a cross is in the ratio of three dominant to one recessive. Mendelism instead of opposing the muta-

tion theory really is in harmony with it, and offers a solution for this apparently inexplicable phenomenon of a mutation or sudden appearance of a new type, only the term "mutation" is now being used to describe the sudden or apparently abnormal condition, which cannot be explained by Mendelism or other laws of inheritance. Mendelism also helps to explain many hitherto difficult features of inheritance, which we had long observed in society.

In a work of this nature, complete explanation of heredity is out of the question. Neither have we time even to mention all the theories or laws. Instead, our aim is merely to give such laws and theories as will be of the greatest help to the student in obtaining a general introductory idea of the workings of society and its problems. In short, we cannot write a text on biology, or even part of one. Our object is merely to indicate a few of the biological approaches. We will now take up some of the conditions encountered in our application of these principles to human society, and some special social problems.

Difficulties in the Study of Human Heredity.—The first obstacle in the study of human inheritance is the fact that we cannot experiment, as in the case of rabbits, mice or rats. We can merely observe and tabulate our observations. Then there are no pure lines to deal with, for all races are intermixtures and our leading races are greatly mixed. Man is also a very slow breeding animal. In fact, we have had only about sixty generations since the time of Christ, a number reached by many animals in a few years, and by some insects in a few months or even weeks. In addition, man has very few offspring, generally too few to be valuable for any scientific study. Out of hundreds of possibilities a human pair will have a limited number of children, too few for any statistical purposes in the study of inheritance. To obtain any sort of reliable statistics one must study several generations, and this is very difficult and in most families impossible. No tabulator can wait for many future generations.

The period of infancy is much longer with man than with most animals. While most animals are able to shift

for themselves in a few months, man is dependent for many years. The colt or calf can walk in a few minutes or hours, run in a few days, and obtain its own living in a few weeks. The human infant is absolutely dependent at birth, and seldom walks or talks before a year, and is unable to make its own living for many years. This dependence is increasing in length as civilization increases in complexity, and standards of living rise, because of the greater preparation needed. Because of this long period of dependence and the educational requirements demanded to meet the conditions of modern society, man's dependence upon environment in the way of home training and education is much greater than with animals; only man has the ability to control his environment instead of being entirely dependent upon it. Yet in spite of all these difficulties, the influence of heredity upon him must be considered. Some claim that sociology rests absolutely upon biology. While we cannot go to that extreme, we must recognize biology as one of the basic sciences, and some knowledge of biology—especially the parts which deal with heredity—is absolutely essential to the equipment of the sociologist.

Peculiarities Noted in Human Heredity.—One fact we notice in our study of heredity is, that no matter how great the achievements of the parents the children must learn all from the beginning. Every child has to learn to talk, to walk, and to perform all the accomplishments of everyday life. It may inherit talent or a quickness of perception or natural ability along certain lines, yet the actual accomplishment has to be acquired anew.

Hereditary characters are determined at the time of fertilization. Formerly it was believed that the nature of the offspring could be influenced by what the mother did, saw, or heard during pregnancy; that the nature of the child could be determined by seeing some strange object, or because of fright. Even bodily defects were explained by this now long-exploded idea; such as a mark on the body like a snake being caused by the mother seeing a snake during pregnancy. Of course a severe blow might injure the un-

born child, and severe fright might even injure by affecting the flow of nourishment to the fœtus, but these are rare in occurrence and the effects are not nearly as great as one would think. But innate mental traits are irrevocably determined at the time of the fertilization of the ovum by the spermatozoa. Also except for allowances as suggested above, physical characters are likewise determined.

Another peculiarity noted is the liability of inheritance from the different ancestors. Often brothers or sisters are much unlike, and all are almost certain to vary in some particulars. Often children apparently do not resemble either parent, inheriting peculiar combinations of characteristics from both, or showing resemblances to ancestors farther back in the line. Students of heredity have studied this question, and while this seems to follow the laws of Mendelian inheritance, it is very difficult to explain, largely because of the few offspring of the human species and the wide variety of possibilities. Professor Karl Pearson has worked out a geometrical series to explain this, in which he ascribes to the two parents .6244 or a little over three-fifths of the hereditary peculiarities of each individual; to the four grandparents .1988 or almost one-fifth; to the eight great-grandparents .063 or a little over six per cent; and to the sixteen great-great-grandparents .0202. While the chance of inheritance grows smaller with each preceding generation, the chance is always there. This does not mean that one individual will inherit any such percentage from each and all of his ancestors. He might inherit a great deal from one particular ancestor and little if any from others. He might inherit little from his father and a great deal from his maternal grandfather, or *vice versa*. It is simply meant that his chance of inheritance is much greater from the immediate ancestors, and becomes less with each degree of remoteness.

Inbreeding is another feature which is difficult to explain, and is therefore often misunderstood. There is an almost universal horror of incest, and the idea is general that mating with those closely related is very injurious to the offspring. With the ignorant this is an explanation

often given for all sorts of defects, such as feeble-mindedness, deafness, and insanity. Investigations do not always prove this supposition; in fact, they often oppose it. It is now becoming generally accepted among students of this problem that it is largely a question of the original stock. If the stock is good to begin with, inbreeding is not necessarily injurious; in fact, it is often beneficial. If the original stock is bad, then it is injurious, for the bad strain is inherited from both sides and is thus increased. The principal argument against inbreeding is that it does not permit the introduction of new elements, and thus would tend merely towards a continuation of the type, or a static condition. In the breeding of animals, inbreeding is often resorted to, in order to perfect specializations or the development of some particular type, and often is responsible for improvements in stock.

A fact or condition which must be noted or remembered is the almost total violation of all rules of breeding on the part of man. In breeding animals we eliminate inferior stock and try to breed only the better or more perfect animals, but with human beings we permit all to marry and produce descendants, segregating only a very few classes, such as the insane or criminals. Not only is this true, but the inferior stocks are the very ones which have the most numerous progeny; while our most fit mentally have the smallest number of children. It seems as if at times the more inferior the stock the larger the family, and the abler the individuals the smaller the number of children. We merely note this condition here, and postpone discussion to the time when we take up the study of eugenics and race suicide.

Application of Heredity to Social Problems.—*Immigration.*—Heredity is now being considered more and more seriously in regard to this great problem of population. Not only must we consider the economic status, religious life, moral and ethical standards and political ideals of our immigrants, but we must look up their racial stock. Are these immigrants descended from strong successful races, or are they the descendants of defeated races, who because

of weaknesses were conquered by the more fit? Do our immigrants come from races which have conquered difficulties, and thus won places for themselves in the development of civilization, or are they the descendants of serfs and slaves, who became serfs or slaves because they were inferior or belonged to inferior races? The Northern European, as a rule, is the descendant of successful races; while many, if not the majority, of those who seek admission from Southern Europe are descendants of former slave populations, having back of them centuries of unsuccessful ancestors. When we study immigration we must take into consideration questions of color, height, weight, inherited tendencies, as well as physical stamina and mental vigor and alertness. If the people who migrate to America are smaller, less hardy, and weaker physically than the natives, it will be only a question of time till the vitality of the race will be lowered. The same is true in regard to such mental characteristics as perseverance, courage, initiative, alertness, and ability to think. If immigrants are inferior in such qualities, it will mean a lowering of our standards and a decline in our success as a nation. On the other hand, if these differences, even if they should be inferior, are cultural rather than biological, the danger will not be so great for if our environment is favorable the traits can be changed. If the differences are biological rather than cultural, they will tend to persist regardless of environment.

Madison Grant, in his *Passing of the Great Race*, takes the position that by out-breeding the Southern Europeans are as relentlessly strangling the Anglo-Saxon and other Nordic races as if they were killing them in physical combat. While this may be an exaggeration, we do notice that our immigrants, especially the least desirable ones, have far more children than do the native Americans, especially the natives of the Anglo-Saxon races. Our legislators are now awake to such dangers and are doing their best to deal with this problem in the passing of legislation in regard to immigration.

The Race Problem.—In connection with the study of the

coming together of any two vitally different races, the inheritance of characteristics must be seriously considered. This is especially true in regard to our race problem. Davenport has made extensive investigations in regard to the application of the Mendelian laws of inheritance in the crossing of the Negro and the white.[1] Although the study is too technical for a work of this nature, attention may be called to it. While the methods of investigation have been much criticized and therefore the results are in doubt, this is probably our most extensive study of this nature, and while subject to corrections it offers many suggestions. In applying Mendelism to this amalgamation we find that many negro characteristics are dominant over those of the white, such as the dark pigment under the skin over its absence; curly or kinky hair over straight hair; and thick lips over thin. Thus instead of the white absorbing the Negro because it outnumbers the black population in the ratio of about ten to one, we would find that the negro characteristics would tend to increase till we became a mixed or mulatto race. Thus Mendelism proves that the white could not absorb the Negro. Also there would appear the same ratio of pure blacks who would breed pure black, and while there would be a definite ratio of pure whites who would breed pure white, they would be outnumbered by the blacks in the ratio of three to one. Then since we have not only the question of the black pigment, but the yellow pigment, thick lips, flat nose, curly and kinky hair, and other negro characteristics to deal with, many of which are also dominant, we find that the chances of obtaining a pure white in all particulars from the mating of mulattoes is about one in a thousand. Yet there is nothing definite by which we can prove the oft-repeated statement that "one descended from a negro is always liable to produce pure negro."

The application of Mendelism to the inheritance of color and similar characteristics is not the whole story in dealing with the Negro problem. We must consider natural

[1] Davenport, C. B., *Heredity of Skin Color in Negro-White Crosses*, Carnegie Institution of Washington, Washington, D. C., 1913.

selection and the survival of the fittest, but these are treated in our chapter on the race problem. The biological fact of the crossing of races is in itself not bad; in fact the result is often beneficial, depending upon the races. The crossing of the black and the white offers peculiar problems, because of the gulf between the races and the difficulties of inheritance to be encountered. Other features enter into the question, such as the ostracism of the descendants of the union of both races. This is especially noticeable in the union of the yellow and the white, and of the white and the brown.

Defectives.—In the study of defectives, such as the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and deaf, heredity must be considered. Investigations show that most of these defects are inherited as recessive characters, but there is still doubt in regard to some, especially feeble-mindedness, and some minor defects are known to be dominant. When one defective person mates with a normal person, the effect is not so bad; but when two defectives mate, the inheritance is cumulative and the effect upon society is demoralizing. We have recognized the seriousness of the problem in our segregation of the insane, but have not yet recognized it in regard to the much more serious problem of feeble-mindedness.

Poverty and Crime.—Neither poverty nor crime as a condition is hereditary, but they are both affected by inheritance. Both of these great problems are due more to environment than to heredity, but some of the defective tendencies which contribute to these problems are inherited, such as defective physical and mental qualities. The strong seldom fall below the poverty line, and when they do they are generally able to rise again. The weak are not so, and often remain submerged. It is the same in regard to crime—the strong are able to resist temptation but the weak fall. The importance of inheritance appears through the inheritance of weaknesses.

War.—War is another social problem where heredity must be considered. In ancient times when the stronger races conquered and exterminated the weaker, it was ap-

parently a survival of the fit. When we have universal conscription and the slaughter is limited to those under arms, we have a selection of the fit for the slaughter. Only those who are able to pass the army medical examinations are taken, and the crippled, the diseased, and the defective are left at home to become the fathers of the next generation. In small wars this of course is not serious, for the armies are generally filled by the restless, and deaths are few. In the World War it was apparent to all, and many nations, particularly France, got alarmed. We did not feel it much in America, because of our brief participation and small loss, but practically all the European nations did feel it. Then those who are not fighting are often injured in the struggle by poor food and hard work, and so are devitalized. Even the keeping of standing armies affects the problem, for it keeps a large number of physically sound men from taking their places in society and becoming the fathers of the next generation.

Eugenics.—Eugenics is the study of race improvement, or the science of being well born. As a systematic study it was founded by Francis Galton. Galton was, however, not the first to call attention to the need of race improvement, or even the first who wrote upon it. Plato advocated it and Sparta practiced it long before the time of Plato, and many other writers touch it at various other times. The study itself is based upon biology as a foundation, and borrows from sociology the material to erect its structure; and is thus a combination of both of these sciences. Because biologists have made the most of its investigations, it has attracted more biologists to its study than sociologists, but it is of use to both sciences and dependent upon both.

For the sake of convenience, eugenics is often divided into two parts: positive and negative eugenics. The former has for its aim the building up of a superior race by means of the mating of the most fit, or of increasing the number of offspring of those most likely to produce the best descendants. Negative eugenics has as its object the limitation of the progeny of the unfit, either by the segre-

gation or sterilization of those classes or individuals who are unfit, and are thus liable to produce descendants who will be injurious to society.

Positive eugenics is, of course, more or less visionary and utopian. It does not sufficiently take into consideration—or possibly cannot—the phenomenon of sexual selection, and the fact that in civilizations advanced sufficiently to appreciate its need, mating is recognized as a personal matter. Positive eugenics is upheld by the more or less generally accepted principle of the attraction of opposites, such as the attraction of the tall for the short, the fat for the lean, the large for the small, the quick for the slow, the nervous for the phlegmatic, and the steady for the excitable. This helps to protect us against degeneracy, but still works against the selection of a superior type. If we did match the highly superior, we would still have the inferior grades to deal with unless we prevented their propagating by segregation, sterilization, or asphyxiation. Any attempt to build society upon any principle which does not take into consideration such vital questions as personal or sex attraction is bound to prove visionary. Positive eugenics does offer much by the mere stressing of the seriousness of mating, by developing a public sentiment or opinion which will demand more care in the selecting of a partner for life, and the rejecting of the undesirable characters. Thus its chief value is educative rather than compulsory.

Negative eugenics aims at the elimination of those individuals and classes which are undesirable, by preventing their mating. It advocates such measures as the segregation of the insane, feeble-minded, epileptic, and those afflicted with incurable diseases which are either hereditary or liable seriously to affect the next generation. It advocates such measures as the requirement of medical certificates showing proper physical condition. It advocates the segregation or sterilization of defectives and criminals, when they are definitely known to be such. It thus means the compulsory elimination of the unfit.

As soon as the public can be educated to the need

of such measures, probably all of the suggested measures and many others will be found sound and practical. In this way, negative eugenics offers a definite program which has much of value for society. It must be stressed here that before any such program can be inaugurated, the public must be educated to its need and value, for enforcement is impossible unless people really want the thing done.

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CHAPTER IV

CULTURAL FORCES

We have now discussed the social effects of geographical influences and the biological principles of heredity. But these two sets of factors do not represent all the forces which are brought to bear upon mankind. There is another set of factors which may be called cultural forces. While these are derivative instead of primary they possibly affect and control the actions of the majority of persons more than either of those just considered.

Culture.—By culture is meant man's past achievements. It includes all of man's material civilization, his inventions, tools, weapons, clothing, forms of shelter, machines, and methods of doing things. It also includes less material accomplishments such as language, writing, the phonetic alphabet, literature, religion, art, science, law, ritual, morals, government and educational systems. In a broad sense all culture is invention, for a language or an alphabet is an invention the same as the sewing machine. Culture is the control which man has acquired not only over nature but himself as well.

Culture a Social Heritage.—While culture is acquired, and not passed on from parent to the child in the germ plasm, it is really a sort of social heritage which the past hands on to the present. It is the accumulation of experiences which is handed on to future generations. It is the carrying over into the present and future of the achievements and work of the past. When an individual is born into this world, he comes into a world which is already made. The child is plastic and is therefore molded by the behavior patterns which were made before its arrival. While the child is born with native abilities it will not have the chance to train and develop these abilities unless the

environment into which it is brought is favorable to such training. A part of this environment of course is geographical or physical. But a far more important part, so far as cultural development is concerned, is the cultural heritage. This embraces the cultural forces which are brought to bear on the individual in the form of social customs, habits and practices.

The new-born infant is practically helpless; it cannot talk, walk or look after itself, or defend itself against enemies, accident, or injury. It must be fed, clothed and sheltered, and cared for physically, mentally, and morally. Fortunately these needs have already been provided for, but since the child is born into a world of institutions, customs, mores, habits and attitudes it is affected and controlled by them. The child finds those around it speaking a language, and it quickly learns that language. Not only does it learn the language of those around it, but it would not know, till told by others, that there was any other language, unless the locality should be some border community where different groups or nationalities came together. Not only would this be true in regard to the general language, but it would be equally true in regard to the dialect spoken, the pronunciation, and the choice of words. Even in the United States, which because of the highly developed means of communication has an extremely uniform language and form of speech, we have differences in pronunciation and choice of words. In one section many words such as "calf," "laugh," and "half" are pronounced differently from what they are in another section. Also different sections may have for every-day use different words, which mean practically the same thing. The words "lug," "tote" and "pack" are all used in different sections to denote the same action, that is to "carry." When a person is brought up in a place he hears and accepts such words as natural, and unless he should go to another section of the country or meet one from another place he might never know but that all persons used the same expression.

This same principle is true with almost everything else

we do. The child accepts the foods which are given to it and learns to like or at least look upon them as natural and universal. In one section of the world rice is the staple food, in another raw meat, while in other places wheat, potatoes, barley, rye, fish, dates, or bread-fruit are similarly accepted. In one place meats are chiefly relied upon, and in other places seldom used. Not only are the particular foods accepted as the proper ones to eat, but the methods of cooking or preparing them are similarly accepted. In one place pork is a delicacy, while in another it is "unclean." In one place rabbits are ranked as a delicacy, and in another classified as "vermin" or unfit for human consumption. The same is true of the milk of cows, mares, goats, and donkeys. The different ways of cooking meats and beans in different parts of the United States illustrate this same principle. In fact nearly every kind of meat, vegetable, or fruit is favorably or unfavorably considered, according to the custom or mores of the people.

In different parts of the world where different climatic conditions prevail and the kinds of food provided by nature differ more widely and the inhabitants have little or no inter-communication, these differences are vastly greater. In one place the dog is a preferred food, while in others it would be used only in the direst extremity. Comparisons might go on indefinitely and the causes for the differences with the effects upon the lives of the people might be traced and analyzed but these are given here merely to illustrate the fact that such differences occur, also that the individual accepts the forms or practices of his own group and looks upon them not only as normal and natural but often as the only or correct way. He not only follows in the footsteps of his parents and grandparents, but also passes these habits and customs on to his children.

In similar manner we accept forms and styles of dress. In one place men wear trousers and women skirts, and, in another, style is reversed and men wear the skirts and women the trousers. In one place it is proper to expose the upper portions of the body but not the lower, in another

the reverse is true, it being all right to expose the legs but immodest to expose the shoulders. Even among the same people what is considered proper to wear at one time or in one place is not considered proper or even decent to wear at another time or in another place. Examples are bathing suits, stage costumes, and evening clothes, to say nothing of such minor matters as the differences between what is proper for afternoon, morning, street or home wear, or the wearing of a straw hat just before or after the date set by custom. While there are good reasons for many of these customs and habits, others are sanctioned only by mere custom. The wearing of coats by men, no matter how hot or disagreeable they may be, is considered proper, and many women insist upon it, although the same ladies would never think of wearing a coat themselves, or might expose their own bare shoulders.

While there are generally valid reasons back of customs the cause has been generally long since forgotten. The custom grew up naturally and persisted, often long after the need or reason has ceased. Each individual in turn is taught the custom, and as a rule follows it without thinking or asking for an explanation. When the individual meets a person with a different custom or habit, acquired in a similar manner, he looks upon that custom as queer, wrong, or even immoral. This conformity to custom is true of little matters of courtesy, such as a man tipping his hat to a woman, keeping his hat on or off when in a building, eating with the knife, fork, spoon, or chop-sticks. We adopt the custom of the group in which we are raised. Almost every action of life is dominated by such practices. And not merely are our manners, food, clothing and method of doing things affected, but likewise our furniture, the size and design of houses, and methods of work are dominated by the culture of the past. As a rule, we accept things as we find them, as they were originated or worked out by our predecessors. So strong is this that it is generally referred to as our cultural inheritance.

This insistence upon adherence to customs and habits

is particularly strong in backward communities. If the community is in an out-of-the-way place, so that the inhabitants do not become familiar with what other peoples are doing, the control of the custom is much more dominant than in an up-to-date and progressive community, and the more out-of-date and outlandish the custom or habit, the more insistent the demand that it be adhered to. Progressive and educated people, who have either seen or heard of the customs and culture of other peoples, make allowances for them, recognize their validity and respect them, but the ignorant have had no such training or education and so look upon their own culture as the only real culture, and consider others who do not practice it as different and strange.

Society has built up certain social institutions, such as the family, religion, the state, the educational system, and economic institutions. These institutions are the result of social needs, and have been built about certain more or less definite interests, but their growth and development have not been the same everywhere. Culture has not progressed with the same speed in all localities nor has it passed through the same stages of social evolution. Yet the tendency is to accept the particular stage of social evolution in which the person lives as the highest and most perfect stage as well as the natural and normal stage. In this country we have accepted the family as a permanent union of one man with one woman and their own offspring. In other sections of the world other forms have been equally accepted, such as one man living with several women and their offspring. In other places, it has even been one woman living with several men. In some places it is considered wrong to do certain things in connection with the family, which in other places are perfectly allowable. Among the Moslems it was very immodest for a married woman to show her face to any man but her husband, but with us this is perfectly permissible, although veils have been worn at times as a matter of style. Among some peoples sexual relations between betrothed persons are permissible, but in the United States they are strictly prohibited. In

some countries trial marriages have been permitted, but with us they are taboo. In some countries divorces are sanctioned, in others not. In many countries the wife is expected to obey and serve her husband, but in the United States, except in remote localities, this practice has long since passed out of existence.

In regard to religious belief and customs we are equally, in fact, probably far more strictly bound, because of the supernatural character imputed to religion. While great religions have evolved and spread, as we shall see later, we generally accept the form of religion and the belief of those about us and we are accordingly controlled by it. In Turkey a child normally becomes a Mohammedan, in China a Confucianist or Buddhist according to location, in India a Hindu, in Italy a Roman Catholic, in England an Episcopalian of the Protestant faith, and in Scotland a Presbyterian. In the United States before the days of immigration some branch of the Protestant faith would probably have been accepted, but now there would be an almost equal chance for the adoption of the Catholic faith. Not only do we accept the religious form and faith about us, but we are controlled by it in both our religious thinking and our secular ways as well. We also adhere to the forms of worship and theological creeds long after the thought and education of the times have prepared the way for newer forms and loftier conceptions.

This principle not only applies in religious matters but is also found in government and education. The divine right of kings was long maintained by the masses, long after the intellectual leaders had rejected it. For centuries it was accepted that the monarchical was the only really successful form of government, and revolt against it was looked upon as treason and even as disobedience to God Himself. In some countries the will of the king was absolute; he was supposed to be in touch with some supernatural power and therefore his wisdom was beyond criticism or question. In other countries the power of the king was limited, and it was considered ethical to oppose his will or wishes. In the United States we revolted

against these conceptions and worked out a different form of government, but already we are beginning to look upon our Constitution as something which is perfect and cannot be improved upon. Yet even in this country we have had slightly different conceptions of the forms or functions of government, as for example the doctrine of state's rights, which has been so popular in the South.

We inherit similar ideas and forms in regard to education, although here we are more willing to change and experiment. If we look at the list of required subjects in any college we will see the effect of the hold-over of the past. Fifty years ago all were required to study Latin, Greek, Mathematics and Philosophy. While the Latin and Greek have generally been dropped as required subjects, Mathematics holds over in most schools, whether the student will ever have any use for it or obtain any value from it or not. It is merely a tradition which is hard to shake off.

In this social heritage must be included not only customs and habits in regard to material things and social institutions, but likewise ways of thinking and moral codes. What is considered right or wrong in America might be looked upon in just the opposite way in Africa or among the Eskimos. With us it is the duty of the child to look after and care for the aged or helpless parents. With the Eskimos and in some parts of Africa it is equally the duty of the son to quietly relieve the helpless parent by putting him to death. In some groups it is wrong to steal, but in others it is only wrong to get caught. The same is true in regard to lying; among some it is always condemned, but among others it is considered better to lie than to hurt the feelings of another person. And even among us who condemn lying it is considered good form, in fact demanded of us, to tell the hostess that one has enjoyed a reception or party, even when bored to the point of distraction; also to congratulate one upon an achievement, even if one wished that the achievement had never been accomplished. This form of lying is merely politeness and we make excuses for it, even to the point of contending that it is not lying,

for it lacks the fundamental element of deception. Thus our conceptions of right and wrong, good and bad, or moral and immoral differ with different places and peoples, and even our methods of reasoning and systems of logic, if they can be called such, differ. But no matter what the system, method or result is, we as a rule accept that which has been handed down to us and consider any other form or method wrong or illogical.

Thus in our thinking we are dominated by the past. While a few will have the ability to see the folly of following outgrown or obsolete customs and still fewer the courage to oppose them, the rank and file of mankind not only follow the old but reject the contemporary thinkers and ostracize, persecute and at times even kill these innovators. The really great contributors to civilization are seldom accepted by their own people or times. Even great political leaders like Washington, Lincoln, and Wilson were terribly criticized by the people of their own times. Great religious leaders like Christ, Mohammed, Gautama, Paul, Luther, Knox, and Wesley have met with the same fate. Great educators and scientists have been equally jeered at, rejected and penalized. This is even true today, so much so that it is almost impossible to teach the new science of sociology, which deals with all these matters of social life, in the ordinary college and university in anything like a scientific and fearless manner. One has to be constantly on one's guard, to be extremely diplomatic or be protected in some unusual manner, or else be so inefficient that he has nothing to say, or so dull in saying it that nobody knows or cares what he says. So true is this, that frequently the politic and dull succeed where the honest and able fail.

Inventions.—Included in our cultural inheritance are inventions, the industrial arts, and technical knowledge. The present generation has become familiar with automobiles, and accustomed to ride in them, far more than were their parents when they purchased cars. They know the different parts and understand the principles upon which they run; in other words the automobile is a part of our

civilization. Earlier generations in the same way had to become familiar with the steam railway and electric street-cars. We of to-day are accepting the wireless and radio much as our fathers accepted the telegraph and telephone. Our house work is done with the aid of electric washing-machines, vacuum-cleaners, electric refrigeration, and coal-less furnaces. We accept inventions and get used to them, and succeeding generations take them for granted.

This is true not only of individuals but of races and nations. People in some Eastern lands are not accustomed to horses and do not know how to deal with them, whereas the Arabs accept horses and camels as a part of their every-day life. While we Americans formerly took horses for granted it looks as if, in a few generations, we would know little if anything about them, and may even look upon them as strange animals. We long ago accepted machine-made clothes and factories as part of our life. In the same way our descendants will accept the aeroplane as a matter of course, and it will be a part of their lives. If a nation or a community has not been accustomed to an invention, such as the steam railway, that invention will not be a part of their every-day life and the common people will always be more or less suspicious or skeptical of it when they come into contact with it. When a group becomes familiar with a machine like the farm tractor or an invention like the telephone, it will build its life and form its habits about it; in short, that machine or invention will become a part of its civilization or culture. Our laws and even our theology will take them into consideration. One of the reasons why we hear so much complaint in regard to law to-day, is that it was made before we had modern industrialism, modern machines like the automobile, and when we lived a simpler life. Hence our laws are often hard to interpret, hard to enforce and lose the respect of people. We have similar trouble with much of our theology. Our theology, which is merely the attempt of man to define God and man's relation to him, was worked out generations or centuries ago; much of it, in fact, was formulated when people thought that the world was flat

and the sun moved around the earth. Now since science has upset these conceptions a new theology has had to be worked out in accord with our present-day conceptions, for theology is merely the interpretation of religion in terms of life around us. Here is where we are having some of our present theological difficulties. This, of course, is a great obstacle and handicap in the proper development of religious institutions, and the acceptance of religious truth and practice in our every-day lives.

Culture Cumulative.—While cultural development is by no means uniform and develops in different manners in different places, the cumulative nature of culture must not be overlooked. One discovery or invention leads to another. The more knowledge a person or group acquires, the easier it is to acquire still more. We have numerous maxims which illustrate this principle. "Nothing succeeds like success." "Riches breed riches," or "Poverty breeds poverty." When man first began he had no inventions, and inventing tools and weapons was a slow, difficult process. It took him countless ages to emerge from the darkness of savagery and barbarism. With the discovery of fire, things moved faster, for this opened up new channels of progress. The bow-and-arrow, the domestication of animals, and the cultivation of plants opened up still more. But the invention of the phonetic alphabet was a tremendous achievement, as was also the invention of the printing press. The use of electricity, the steam engine, and the telegraph have merely been recent illustrations of this principle. Cultural evolution has been like the rolling up of a snow-ball. It is at first slow and tedious work, but after we get it rolling down-hill its own momentum not only carries it along but its size and speed increase with every roll.

So important is this phase of sociology that some have even looked upon it as almost the whole field of sociology. Professor Ward considered sociology as the science of human achievement, and it was chiefly this phase of sociology which he had in mind. While it is by no means all of sociology it does form an important phase and one which

permeates the whole science. We cannot take up the study of any problem of society, such as our race question, immigration or crime, without running into it. Social problems are generally the result of the inability or difficulty of people to fit into the culture and civilization of the group. When one group migrates from one culture to another it has the problem of adjustment and at times this adjustment is painful and difficult. Crime is largely the inability or unwillingness of the individual to adjust himself to the mores of the group. Poverty is largely the inability to make a living according to the culture and rules of the group. An individual, who might be a famous hunter in one culture, might be a ne'er-do-well in another, and one who might be a successful warrior in one culture, might become a criminal in another culture. An individual who in one group might be looked upon as a dreamer and idler, might in another situation become honored and wealthy. So success in life, the progress of the individual, the standing of a nation, the evolution and development of an institution, such as the state, and the progress of humanity in general, are problems of culture and civilization. The cultural forces are always present in society and cannot be neglected. In one time or place they will be stronger than in another, and they will affect one individual more than another and in a different way, but these forces are operative and cannot be neglected.

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Part III

POPULATION

CHAPTER V

INCREASE OF POPULATION

As nearly as we are able to determine, prehistoric man began in or near what is now Asia Minor; but we shall probably never be able to locate the exact spot. All we know is that the earliest records and most careful investigations indicate man's first appearance in that region. We are much in doubt, also, as to the time of his first appearance. History carries us back only about six thousand years, but that is very short in comparison with the life of man before he reached the state of civilization which produced tangible records. Many estimates have been made in regard to the probable age of man; some insist that it has been only a few thousand years, while others claim that it has been half a million years since he made his appearance. Geology tells us that man was one of the latest arrivals and did not appear till late in the history of the earth. Some scientists have contended that man had several origins, but now it has become the accepted theory that man had only one beginning—the monogenesis theory prevailing over the polygenesis.

From this one place of origin man has scattered over the whole face of the globe. Students of the subject have attempted to work out definite stages of evolution from lower species, but in all of these schemes there have been necessarily great gaps, and the authors have had to weave in so much theory and supposition that they have failed to establish these stages. Such a far-reaching study, interesting though it is, falls outside the realm of sociology, and pertains instead to her sister science, anthropology. Sociology finds man upon the earth, and begins with the study of his social life. Man began with a small

group, and from this has increased numerically to the present enormous population. Necessarily small at first and slow of growth, like a snowball it has grown more and more rapidly as the group has become larger and stronger. The present indications are that mankind has by no means stopped or even seriously checked his rate of increase, except in a few countries. In fact, man has increased in number much more rapidly since he has become civilized than before. Living has become easier and life more secure. The dangers have decreased while the means of subsistence have increased. Improvements and inventions have allowed more people to live in a given space than formerly. Man's increase at first was slow and many tribes and even races perished entirely; for long periods of time he was able to do little more than hold his own. The races given by nature an advantage over other races have increased. The pressure of population is keenly felt in some countries, especially China, India, Japan and Italy. This is not a new phenomenon; on the contrary it is older than civilization itself. Pressure of population was the cause of man's scattering out over the earth; but now that all the earth has been explored and all the best land taken, we often wonder if a time will come when the population will be too great for the earth to support. This is not now causing people to worry so much as it did one hundred years ago, for in some countries the pressure is not so great as it was then, because of relief given by increase in production and improvement in commerce.

The Malthusian Theory of Population.—Over one hundred years ago Malthus published his famous work *Essay on Population,* which went through several editions and has been handed down since that time as a classic. In this book Malthus declared that population tends to increase faster than the means of subsistence. At first he tried to prove this by showing that the means of subsistence increased in arithmetical progression, while population increased in geometrical progression; but he later abandoned such attempts. Malthus stated that there

were two methods of checking or holding population down to the food supply: (1) positive, as war, famine, disease, vice, and poverty, and (2) negative or artificial checks, such as control of the birth rate by means of celibacy and late marriages. He attempted to prove that if we did not exercise the latter, the former would operate. Malthus believed that poverty was the direct result of this increase of population, as it created a surplus of workers, who kept wages down; he went so far as to cite this as the chief cause of all misery and wretchedness.

The Malthusian theory attracted much attention, many accepting it absolutely and others rejecting it completely. In general it was for a long time approved. Others, especially in more recent years, have brought up arguments against it, contending that it does not apply to modern conditions. Their chief arguments have been along the following lines. The principle may have worked among primitive peoples and may be true when applied to a stationary, unprogressive population, but it does not apply to modern society. Malthus was unable to foresee the inventions and discoveries of modern times which have increased the food supply, as reapers, binders, plows, corn planters, and potato diggers, modern methods of preserving and canning vegetables and fruits, and intensive methods of agriculture. Progress in these things has more than kept pace with the increase in population, for in reality a constantly decreasing percentage of our population has been able to produce the world's food supply. Then, too, Malthus did not take into consideration the ability of man to co-operate to greater advantage as population became denser. As population has increased, man has been able to make more economical divisions of labor, use more efficient methods of applying labor, and through new inventions and discoveries to bring about greater production. Thus man is constantly able to produce more in shorter periods of time, and the working day for the laboring man is steadily being shortened throughout the entire world, especially in the more advanced and thickly populated countries.

Just now there is a swing back to the Malthusian theory; in fact after-war conditions seem to point towards its truth even in modern times. Anyway, the theory is still a very live issue.

Other theories of population have been propounded, among which is that of Dumont, the French economist and sociologist, who suggests that society is like a sponge in that it will allow as large a population as industry can care for; that if a country has opportunities, like those of Argentine, Canada, or Alaska, the population will increase, but if there are no opportunities the population will not increase. Although history does not prove this theory, it is very interesting and somewhat plausible. A new country with opportunities will attract immigration, but the birth rate in that country may not increase; it often does not. Therefore it is very difficult to formulate any hard and fast theory of population. One thing we do know is that population is steadily increasing, and for the past hundred years, at least, means of subsistence have more than kept pace with this increase. While we can expect the population of the earth steadily to become denser, there is as yet under ordinary circumstances no immediate danger of starvation, and while conditions in China, Russia and India seem to disprove this statement, science may eventually solve the problems of food supply in all countries.

Increase in Population of Some of the Leading Modern Nations.—The following table will show how some of the modern nations have increased in population:[1]

Country—	*Per cent Increase 1800–1900*	*Country*—	*Per cent Increase 1800–1900*
United States	1,331.6	Sweden	118.6
Belgium	204.3	Italy	88.4
Denmark	163.4	Portugal	85.1
United Kingdom	155.9	Switzerland	84.1
Norway	154.6	Austria	81.6
Germany	143.2	Spain	75.6
Holland	143.1	France	42.5

[1] *A Century of Population Growth in the United States*, 1790–1900, by Census Bureau, p. 85.

From these figures it will be seen at a glance that the nations showing the greatest increase are the ones which are prosperous or well situated geographically; yet we can derive no universal law from these data, for France has been a very prosperous nation, she enjoys a splendid form of government, and the common people are happy, yet France, even before the war, was hardly holding her own in population.

A population can increase by a surplus of births over deaths and by immigration, but a high birth rate does not necessarily mean an increase in population. It is the excess of births over death which counts.

BIRTH AND DEATH RATES IN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES, 1926 [2]

Country	*Birth Rate*	*Death Rate*	*Excess Births over Deaths*
Ukraine	41.4*a*	18.7*a*	22.7*a*
U. S. Soviet Russia	48.0*a*	25.9*a*	21.1*a*
Bulgaria	36.7*b*	20.8*b*	15.9*b*
Roumania	36.2*a*	21.7*a*	14.5*a*
Netherlands	23.8	9.8	14.0 (12.8 in 1927)
Lithuania	26.7	14.3	12.4
Portugal	34.6*b*	23.2*b*	11.4*b*
Italy	27.5*a* (1927, 27.6)	16.6*a* (1927, 15.16)	10.9*a* (1927, 12.0)
Hungary	26.7	16.5	10.2
Spain	22.0	19.0	10.0
Czechoslovakia	25.2	15.6	9.6
Denmark	20.5	11.0	9.5 (1927, 8.3)
Norway	19.7	10.6	9.1 (1927, 7.6)
Finland	22.3*a*	13.5*a*	8.8*a*
Germany	19.5 (1927, 18.3)	11.7 (1927, 11.9)	7.8 (1927, 6.4)
Northern Ireland (Ulster)	22.5	15.0	7.5
Latvia	22.0	14.7	7.3
Scotland	20.9	13.0	7.2
Austria	21.4*a*	14.5*a*	6.9*a*
Belgium	19.8*a*	13.1*a*	6.7*a*
Irish Free State	20.5	14.1	6.5
Switzerland	18.2	11.7	6.5
England and Wales	17.8 (1927, 16.7)	11.7 (1927, 12.3)	6.1 (1927, 4.4)
Sweden	16.9	11.8	5.1
Estonia	17.7	16.0	1.7
France	18.8 (1927, 18.2)	17.5	1.3

a 1925. *b* 1923.

[2] Courtesy of Mr. R. H. Lyman, *The World Almanac*. The 1927 figures are taken from the *New York Times* of Aug. 19, 1928.

So when it comes to the question of natural increase, it is the final product or excess of births over deaths that must be considered. Then, too, for each individual country other factors enter in, particularly the amount of emigration or immigration.

In the United States few states have kept records for any length of time, in fact in 1914 there were only six states in the registration area. In 1919 twenty-two states kept birth statistics and in these the birth rate was 22.3; in the same year thirty-seven states and the District of Columbia kept death statistics and in these the death rate was 12.8. In 1926 forty states and the District of Columbia were included in the registration area, that is, they qualified by keeping vital records with an accuracy of 90% or better. In this area the birth rate for 1926 was 20.4 and the death rate 12.11. In comparing these figures it must be remembered that the states which are outside of the registration area are chiefly our Southern states which have less healthful conditions and corresponding high death rates, also higher birth rates.[3] Even if the United States had available figures for any length of time, comparison between our country and Europe would not be fair, for we have received hundreds of thousands of European immigrants, the majority of whom have been in the prime of life, although many of these immigrants have returned later to Europe to die in their native lands.

If we compare the birth rates with those of several decades ago, we notice an almost universal decline, especially in the more advanced nations. The death rate shows a still greater decline. Therefore, the increase in population is the result, not of an increasing birth rate, but of this decline in the death rate, which is brought about by better sanitation, increased medical knowledge, especially among the masses, prevention of industrial accidents, prevention of disease through quarantine, vaccina-

[3] Figures for thirty-seven states for 1927 are, birth rate 20.4 and death rate 11.4. The registration area July, 1928 included forty-two states and the District of Columbia, with 92 per cent of the total estimated population of the United States.

tion and anti-toxins, and the discovery of cures of diseases. The establishment of bureaus of medical research; social insurance systems; visiting nurses; proper building codes; the dissemination of health information; shorter hours; more healthful working conditions; food inspection—these and many other factors have helped to lower the death rate; and we can look for still greater progress in this line. As sanitation and hygiene develop, the death rate goes down.

We note also that the industrial nations of the world are increasing in population because they furnish work for their people and hence check emigration as well as tempt immigration. The industrial development of the United States is largely, if not almost wholly, responsible for the modern immigration to this country. After Germany developed industrially she kept her people at home; the same is true of Norway and Sweden.

The Increase of Population in the United States.—In order to discuss this subject properly we must take a glance at the population statistics for the United States (continental):

ESTIMATED COLONIAL POPULATION[4]

Year	*Population*	*% Inc.*	*Year*	*Population*	*% Inc.*
1610	210	...	1700	275,000	28.8
1620	2,499	1,090.0	1710	357,500	30.0
1630	5,700	128.1	1720	474,388	32.7
1640	27,947	890.3	1730	654,950	38.1
1650	51,700	85.0	1740	889,000	35.7
1660	84,800	64.0	1750	1,207,000	35.8
1670	114,500	35.0	1760	1,610,000	33.4
1680	155,600	35.9	1770	2,205,000	37.0
1690	213,500	37.2	1780	2,781,000	26.1

UNITED STATES CENSUS

1790	3,929,214	41.3	1860	31,443,321	35.6
1800	5,308,483	35.1	1870	38,558,371	26.6
1810	7,239,881	36.4	1880	50,155,783	26.0
1820	9,638,453	33.1	1890	62,947,714	24.9
1830	12,866,020	33.5	1900	75,994,575	20.7
1840	17,069,453	32.7	1910	91,972,266	21.0
1850	23,191,876	35.9	1920	105,708,771	14.9

[4] Dublin, L. I., *Population Problems*, p. 21 (Houghton, Mifflin).

The heavy increases at first were due to the small population and the arrival of immigrants, a small number yielding a high percentage. After the period of adventure and expectancy of riches was over there were comparatively few arrivals. But on the other hand land was free or cheap and large families were the general rule. But the death rate was fairly high, especially among the children, because of the frontier conditions and the risks and dangers of a new country. The Revolutionary War had its effect in keeping down the population but after its close and the opening up of the West the former normal rate returned.

The U. S. Census figures show that there has been a steady decrease in the percentage of increase since 1860, and that while the increase is still considerable it is by no means so rapid as formerly. This is not owing to immigration, because since 1880 we have received the majority of our immigrants; whereas in our early history when the increase was the most rapid we were receiving very few immigrants. During the decades when we were receiving the most immigrants we increased in population the least. Some authorities indeed go so far as to declare that immigration has checked instead of increased our population. On the face of it, it seems plausible, but if we examined all the facts we problably should not find this statement true. Other factors have also had their effect.

In Massachusetts the birth rate among the foreign born has been about three times that of the native born. But these statistics are misleading, for the foreign born do not come here as a rule till they reach the prime of life or at least the reproduction age; then, too, many return to Europe after they have passed that period; as a consequence the foreign born have a much higher birth rate. And for the same reason the death rate of native born is higher than that of foreign born, although this difference is slight. But Massachusetts is not an average state; conditions are peculiar in that the most vigorous part of the native population have moved westward, especially the men, thus leaving the less energetic at home, and in addition causing an unequal distribution of the sexes. Then,

too, the immigrant class is cooped up to a great extent in the factory towns like Fall River, New Bedford and Lawrence under very bad conditions, inviting thereby low standards of living and high birth rates. On the other hand prices are high and wages low in New England; so the native with his high ideals is compelled to postpone marriage and keep down the number of children if he wishes to maintain his standard of living.

The average size of the family has decreased in the United States, being 5.6 in 1850, 5.3 in 1860, 5.1 in 1870, 5 in 1880, 4.9 in 1890, 4.7 in 1900, 4.5 in 1910 and 4.3 in 1920. Among the native whites the decline has been still greater, and in some sections of New England no gain in population is shown. For separate states Nevada is lowest with 3.5, followed by California with 3.8 and Oregon with 3.9. Southern states lead in size, North Carolina standing at the top with 5. This decrease has occasioned some people much alarm. The causes for the decrease in birth rate are many, some of the most prominent being the following:

1. *The Constantly Advancing Standard of Living.*—People are demanding more. Things which they formerly looked upon as luxuries they now consider necessities, such as bath rooms, telephones, and electric lights. Finer clothing, a greater variety of food, better houses, and more comforts are demanded. Rather than sacrifice these things, people limit the number of children. Then, too, greater stress is now put upon the careful rearing of children and giving them proper advantages than upon bringing them into the world. Instead of being alarming, this factor is conducive to a higher civilization.

2. *The Constantly Increasing Cost of Living.*—The increase in prices, especially of foodstuffs, housing, and clothing resulting from the comparative decrease of land for producing these commodities and the increasing demand for them, is another cause of small families. Wages have also risen, but it is an economic fact that wages are slower to advance than prices. As we shall see when we consider immigration, wages have been kept down by the competition of the immigrant with the native laborer. This

cause has been removed in the United States now by immigration restriction. The World War recently complicated this situation still more by effecting an abnormal increase in prices, as a result of the tremendous demand. In some industries this increase has been more than offset by corresponding increases in wages, and in general in the United States the lot of the laboring man has been improved, yet some classes have been injured.

3. *Selfishness, or the Refusal to Have Children.*—This may result from an unwillingness to sacrifice for them, unwillingness to undergo the discomfort and pain of bringing them into the world, or the unwillingness to substitute for pleasures already secured the unknown satisfactions of parenthood. This is especially true of the rich, who are loath to give up participation in social activities, or to spare the time which parenthood requires. The following table by Bertillon, giving the number of births per thousand among the various economic classes of the four largest European cities,[5] illustrates the well-known fact that the poor have more children than the rich.

BIRTHS PER 1,000 WOMEN 15-50 YEARS OF AGE PER YEAR

	Paris	*Berlin*	*Vienna*	*London*
Very poor	108	157	200	147
Poor	95	129	104	140
Comfortable	72	114	155	107
Very Comfortable	65	96	153	107
Rich	53	63	107	87
Very Rich	34	47	71	63
Total	80	102	153	109

It will be seen that the very poor have about three times as many children as the very rich. As the economic prosperity of a country increases we find a decline in the birth rate. This is a condition much to be deplored, for it seems unfortunate that those who can afford to have many chil-

[5] Quoted by Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions,* p. 110 (Century).

dren will not have them, while those who are not able to support them have the large families.[6]

4. *Growth of Cities.*—The constantly increasing percentage of persons living in cities is playing its part in lowering the birth rate. Rural family conditions are more normal; marriages are earlier and the financial strain is less. In the city it costs more to live because all things must be purchased. The dependence upon the pay envelope is greater, standards of living higher, and the financial demands and the temptations to spend are greater. This increased financial strain reacts upon the size of the family, also upon marriage itself. Home life is less normal and children are not only serious financial liabilities but they are far greater worries; they are harder to raise and train. Hence they are less desired. A larger percentage of people in cities do not marry than in the country and the proportion of broken homes is greater. Whether we in time will become adjusted to city life is a question, but at the present time the increase in city population at the expense of the rural sections tends to lower the birth rate.

5. *Education, That Is, Higher Education.*—With increase in culture and the rise in civilization, more time is spent in preparation for one's life work. If one is fitting himself for a professional calling, he must spend four years in high school, and for many professions, four years in college, and three or four years in a professional school. If he enters high school at the age of fourteen and goes continuously (which does not always happen), he is at least twenty-five upon the completion of this preparation; then he must often work several years before he is able to earn enough or to attain sufficient professional success to warrant marriage. So he is close to thirty before he can marry at all. If he marries an educated woman she is nearly as old. This is especially true if during his school days he falls in love with a school mate and she waits till he has completed his preparation. It is then only natural

[6] "In a fashionable district near Fifth Avenue, New York City, in 1921 the birth rate was seven per 1000 population as compared with twenty-five per 1000 for the rest of Manhattan."—*New York Times,* Jan. 22, 1922.

that their family should be smaller than the family of the uneducated man who marries at twenty-one or twenty-two a girl of eighteen or nineteen. Education of women has had a greater effect upon the birth rate than education of men, for it has made woman less dependent upon marriage; she has become able to make her own way, and her education has caused her to be more discriminating in her choice of a husband. While this has tended to elevate man and has compelled him to live a cleaner and more wholesome life, it has restricted marriage. In the past woman was either a drudge or an ornament, a kind of social barometer, reflecting man's economic position. If he were rich she did not have to work, but if he were poor she had to do so. However, society is not yet adjusted to this situation. Because of these conditions woman hesitates more about marriage, and, once married, hesitates to settle back into woman's former position in the home; hence she is more loath to begin raising a family, or to have a large one.

6. *Vice.*—Unfortunately many who desire children cannot have them, and it is claimed that at least one-half of these cases are owing to immorality. Sexual diseases, as we shall see later when we take up the subject of immorality, make child-birth either dangerous or impossible. This is one of the leading reasons why the birth rate in France is no higher than it is, and also why so many of the rich in all countries do not have children. While comparatively few women have disease upon marriage, it is only a question of time until they are affected, if the men they marry are diseased. Many one-child families result from vice, disease preventing further conception. We can expect this cause to operate less in the future, for as a problem the social evil is becoming rapidly less important; it is only a question of time until it will be either stamped out or reduced to a minimum. In old days when the bearing of children was impossible, the women were called "barren" and could be divorced. Now that we know one of the chief causes, we hear less of "barrenness." While some women are physically unable to have children, far more could have them if their husbands had lived clean lives.

7. *Greater Knowledge of Birth Control.*—Formerly birth control was frowned upon as unsocial and irreligious, and made illegal by statute. Public opinion is supporting these ideas and laws less and less. Heretofore churches thundered against birth control, but now they oppose it less. A knowledge of conditions among the poor has brought about this changed attitude. As people become educated they acquire a more accurate knowledge of the laws of reproduction, and as a result fewer children are born. Whether for the best interests of our country or not, we can expect this tendency to increase as our country continues to grow in prosperity and enlightenment.

On the whole we can look for a constantly declining birth rate; but whether this ever reaches the point of race suicide is extremely doubtful.

Decrease in Death Rate.—Along with a decrease in birth rate we have noticed a steady decline in the death rate among civilized nations; the greater the advance in civilization, the greater the decrease. In the United States the death rate was reduced more than one-fourth between 1900 and 1920. The steady increase in population is the result of the decrease in death rate. This decline is owing to many causes, the chief of which are probably the following:

1. *Increased Medical Knowledge.*—Medical science is constantly finding cures for diseases which formerly were considered incurable, *e. g.*, yellow fever, spotted fever and cholera; and it is making other diseases which were ranked as dangerous hardly serious at all—such as smallpox, which, formerly considered a scourge, now yields readily to medical treatment. Tuberculosis is slowly yielding to preventive measures. Preventive means, in the shape of anti-toxins, are now used against such diseases as typhoid fever and diphtheria. The heretofore unknown causes of many diseases which have existed for a long time, like the hook-worm disease, have been discovered. Better methods of treating the so-called "child diseases," such as measles, whooping cough, croup, etc., have been found and their fatality has been reduced. Medical science has not

only greatly reduced the death rate but may also be expected to effect still greater improvement in this respect. Joined with these discoveries is the greater accessibility of these cures and treatments to the mass of our population through better hospital facilities. With the erection of city hospitals and privately endowed institutions, practically no one in the cities at least need go without medical treatment when it is needed, even though funds are lacking. Increased knowledge on the part of the public of the curability of disease and stricter requirements for entrance into the medical profession have contributed to the decrease in the death rate from disease. People do not fear hospitals as they once did, and they trust doctors more than formerly; so with the greater means at hand they make use in daily life of medical knowledge and skill.

2. *Improved Sanitation and Hygiene.*—Practical knowledge of hygiene has been spread through the country by instruction in our schools, special educational campaigns, popular magazines, public libraries, and other means of disseminating information. Visiting nurses are going from house to house teaching the poor, especially the immigrant poor, how to live healthier, happier lives, prepare better food, and prevent germ infection. Our cities are enacting and, still more important, are enforcing laws in regard to sewage and garbage disposal, street cleaning, food and milk inspection, pure water, handling of contagious diseases and other matters vital to public health. Because prevention is more important than cure, this type of effort is even more important than curative measures. It is becoming more and more effective and thus can be depended upon for increasingly greater results in the future.

3. *Prevention of Industrial Accidents.*—Most of the European countries have adopted systems of accident insurance, compelling the employers to compensate for accidents in their factories. This has influenced the employers in their turn to use the most modern devices for accident prevention. Most of the American states are taking the same measures, while many employers are put-

ting in such improvements voluntarily. In the United States it has been found that about 25,000 workers are killed, as many more permanently injured and about 2,000,000 temporarily injured each year by industrial accidents. A large proportion of these accidents are preventable. Shorter working hours are becoming customary and as a result there are fewer accidents. We as a nation are waking up to the fact that the loss of life because of industrial accidents is to a great extent unnecessary, and are taking steps to prevent it.

4. *Decrease in Infant Mortality.*—During the first year the mortality rate among infants is greatest, especially among the poor and ignorant classes and in those countries where the masses are uneducated and poverty-stricken. In Russia during pre-war times 27 per cent of all the babies died before the end of the first year, and even in the registration area in the United States one in 12 die during this period. We are now beginning to realize the seriousness of this unnecessary loss of life and are attempting to prevent it through better milk inspection, parental care, instruction of mothers, and the spread of knowlege of hygiene generally.

5. *Prevention of War.*—Before the World War we had steadily reduced the loss of life from war till we were in high hopes of eliminating entirely mortality from this cause. The war upset all this. If the present League of Nations succeeds in doing all that its advocates expect of it, we can still look for the time when this great menace will be reduced to a minimum.

On the whole, then, we may expect population to keep on increasing but at a less rapid rate than formerly; we may expect a constantly decreasing birth rate but a corresponding, but slightly less, decrease in the death rate. Many estimates have been made as to the population of the United States at given dates in the future, say in the year 2000. Estimates for that year range from 200,000,000 to 400,000,000. Such predictions are inaccurate and worthless, since conditions are constantly changing and the rate of increase is ever decreasing. If we continue to hold out

fewer inducements to immigrants, we can expect immigration to cease after a time. If our prosperity should fail we might even experience much emigration and a possible decrease in population. Besides, as we exploit our natural resources and populate the country, and at the same time improve education and raise our standard of living, we may look for the rate of increase to fall off rapidly. Therefore the future is too uncertain to make a safe prediction possible. The most that we can say is, that if present conditions continue population will steadily increase.

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CHAPTER VI

HUMAN MIGRATION

If the theory holds good that man began with a single family or small group, he has gradually migrated until he has occupied all the habitable portions of the earth. The purpose of this chapter is to show why he migrated, how he did it, and what was the effect upon his development.

Man was forced to migrate because of lack of food supply. The increase in numbers made living more difficult and, as a result, some of the group had to leave their original home to seek new supplies of food. This caused the formation of bands which would start out upon their wanderings in search of new abodes. In all probability these bands consisted of those belonging to one family, or those closely connected by ties of kinship or friendship. Whether they were the weaker groups which were driven out, or were bands composed of energetic individuals who were discontented with their hard lot and desirous of bettering it, we do not know; in all probability both classes of people were represented. At any rate, man formed into bands, so as to afford greater protection and to satisfy his innate craving for companionship, and started out upon journeys of conquest and exploration.

These bands naturally followed the paths of least resistance, going up or down river valleys, along the coast, around mountain ranges, or through passes. When they came to places where the food supply was abundant they would either settle down permanently, or remain till they were evicted by another band, or were tempted to seek still more inviting sources of food supply. If stronger bands forced them out they simply continued their wanderings, unless they preferred to fight rather than to run.

Often, in that event, the weaker band was exterminated or forced into slavery by the stronger.

We have noticed that the richer river valleys like the Nile valley and the valley of the Tigris-Euphrates were among the first to be settled and consequently among the first abodes of people of advanced civilization. Man has also moved along the paths of the best sources of food supply, whether living was gained by direct appropriation of the gifts of nature, by fishing, by hunting, or later by the domestication of flocks and herds, with the aid of agriculture. In this way he spread out from Asia Minor in all directions, going eastward into what is now India, and then either around the Himalayas, or through the passes into the fertile territory of China, where he was stopped by the Pacific Ocean. Australia and the East Indies were possibly connected with Asia by strips of land or were separated only by narrow bodies of water, and thus man was able to people the East Indies, Australia, New Zealand and most of the island archipelagoes of the Southern Pacific. Farther north, he was forced or lured to cross the Bering Sea, either on the ice or by means of rafts, perhaps going from one to another of the Aleutian Islands; thus he came to America. From Alaska it was an easy matter to spread over the two Americas. Going westward, man migrated to Africa, by way of the Isthmus of Suez into the Nile valley, and thence to the various parts of Africa, meeting with few land barriers, with the exception of the Sahara Desert. Going northward he passed into Europe, either following the shores of the Mediterranean or going down the valley of the Danube, which has served as a highway for migrations into Europe. From southern Europe, man wandered as far north as the climate would permit. Here he was driven backward at least once and possibly several times by changes in the climate which caused the glaciers to move southward, only to return again with successive resumptions of former climatic conditions. Europe was peopled also by migrations from Asia, which moved in a more northerly track, coming by way of Siberia.

Russia and the Balkans were thus settled by the Slavic race. From Europe migration crossed the Atlantic. The Norse came by way of Iceland, and the Spanish by way of the Azores.

Motives for Migration.—The motive for early migration was necessity—the shortage of provisions or the fear of a stronger force. Afterwards other causes operated, particularly religious persecution, political oppression, the desire to evade the penalties of law, and economic pressure. Religious persecution was one of the leading causes of the settlement of America, but it was an effectual incentive to migrations long before that. It seems to be human nature for those holding one belief to try to compel others to accept the same belief and to drive out or exterminate those who hold other beliefs. Many people have migrated, therefore, for the sake of religious freedom. Government, at first, was by means of the strong arm; those who dared to oppose were killed or driven out; thus there have always been those who were compelled to migrate for political reasons. Banishment, either outside of the political boundaries, or to some definite place such as a penal colony, has often been used as a means of punishment. Then wanderlust, the desire to keep moving, has always been a strong motive. Religious pilgrimages and the sending out of missionaries have added to migration. Slavery has dispersed peoples, the weaker being captured, sold as slaves, and scattered throughout the world. Negro slavery furnishes perhaps the best example. Greece and Rome followed this as a regular custom, Rome selling her prisoners of war. Whenever a race was defeated and put to flight, it frequently scattered, sought safety as individuals, and hence was unable to unite later.

Probably the greatest motive for migration to-day is the economic one, the seeking for opportunities to obtain a greater return for one's labor. This is the motive prompting the bulk of our recent immigrants to come to America; it is behind the majority of human wanderings to-day. The lure of gold and the prospect of riches

cause man to go to the most inaccessible regions; to endure the tortures of extreme cold or heat; to risk the dangers of disease and of wild beasts; to endure thirst, extreme cold, drenching rains, and all manner of personal discomforts; to leave friends and relatives and put up with loneliness and privation. Commerce has been fostered by practically all nations; colonies were sent out by Phœnicia, Greece and Carthage for this purpose, and later by France, England, Holland, and Germany. In fact, the trader has nearly always preceded the soldier and settler, these being prompted to follow by the reports brought back by the traveler who wandered in search of trade.

Fugitive peoples have been driven into the inaccessible regions of the world, those places which offered a chance to escape pursuit or detection. Ripley calls the Caucasus the "grave of peoples, languages, customs, and physical types." In such remote spots people degenerate because of the lack of contact with others. Then too they were originally inefficient, else they would not have become fugitive. Isolation only added to this inefficiency.

With primitive man migration was comparatively easy; he did not have to worry about selling his land or even moving his household furniture, because he did not possess any. All that he had to do was to pick up and move to another place. So it was easy and natural to acquire the habit of wandering. He was not able to move as rapidly as modern man, for he had no express trains, steamships, roads, or bridges, and at first no draft animals. Yet, in spite of the improvement in the means of travel, civilized man has greater trouble to move because of his numerous possessions; moreover he has less incentive for migration.

Primitive movements were not rapid; they were slow, leisurely driftings in which whole tribes or nations took part. At first these bands were held together by family ties, but as they grew vast hordes were collected. Such were the Slavic invasions of Europe. The westward migration of the Vandals is also a good illustration; they

first came into contact with Rome when they struck one of the Roman provinces on the Danube. Here they settled for some time, then they moved on westward, then southward into Spain, and finally across the Straits of Gibraltar into northern Africa, taking about two hundred years for this whole movement. Later migrations have generally taken the form of colonization fostered by a parent country. Migration of the present day is an individual matter, although many individuals go together, and frequently with the encouragement of their governments.

Westward Movement of Civilization.—While civilization for a while moved eastward, passing from Asia Minor to India and China, we find that, on the whole, it has had a westward expansion, passing from Babylon, Assyria, and Persia to Greece; from Greece to Rome and from Rome to France, Spain and England; thence to America, Japan and China. Not only civilization but also world power seems to follow this path. Civilization in moving westward has done so along the north temperate zone; because of this the north temperate zone is known as "the track of civilization." In our next chapter, on immigration as an American problem, we shall see that it has been and is simply a part of this westward movement of races seeking opportunities for improvement, particularly religious and political freedom, and economic betterment.

During the past few years Japan has made wonderful strides in Western culture and civilization. By developing a strong army and navy and by assuming a strong aggressive attitude, she now occupies a place of power in the family of nations. Her power as a fighting nation was not recognized until she so quickly and skillfully defeated the great Russian Empire in the Russo-Japanese War. Since that time she has commanded the respect of other nations, alliances with her being eagerly sought.

Japan has been crowded for territory to accommodate her ever-increasing population, and during the past few years has looked with envious eyes upon the sleeping

giant at her west, but before the World War she was not able to make much use of her neighbor. While the war was taking the time and attention of other nations, Japan was able to push her interests. Judging from present indications it will only be a question of time till she builds up a vast power in the East, either in co-operation with or at the expense of China.

China, however, is waking up; she is throwing off the shackles of inertia and the dead weight of her past, and is adopting modern methods of education, industry, and government. She now is welcoming occidental ideas, inventions, and methods. Whether she will be able to build up a strong military and naval power, like that of her neighbor Japan, is a question. But there is no doubt that the East is soon to play an important, if not a dominating, rôle in the history of the world. Japan by means of a "Monroe Doctrine" of her own is attempting to reap all the benefit from the awakening of the East, both commercially and politically; she may as a result assume the leadership in Eastern politics. But, whatever the outcome of this controversy, the Yellow race must be reckoned with in the future in the shaping of world policies.

Many keen students of Eastern affairs tell us that China is the future leader in the East: that eventually she will absorb or dominate Japan because of her great size, wealth of natural resources, and the natural vigor and vitality of her population. In regard to this time can only tell.

Russia, with her unlimited resources and endless opportunities, especially in Siberia, is a land with a future which defies prediction. She has thrown off the handicap of a reactionary government and if she succeeds in establishing a stable and progressive government, she is bound to prosper and to progress. The common people, instead of being held down in ignorance, will be encouraged and a higher civilization will result. It will take many years to achieve a position of intellectual leadership, but political leadership is possible long before that.

While the recent World War, horrible and disastrous as it was, did not sound the death-knell of European

civilization, it has set Europe back decades in human progress. What the future holds in store for Europe only time can tell. At present the World War has left so many hatreds, jealousies, debts and losses that the immediate future seems dark. Possibly out of the ruins there may emerge a structure grander than the one which was destroyed.

We in America cannot bear to think that our nation, sharing the fate of Greece and Rome, may in time fall into oblivion. Some predict that we are even now fast rushing towards destruction. Instead, we are still ascending the highway of development and progress. But we may fall by reason of too great prosperity, especially with the wealth and world power which the World War has brought to us. We may even in the course of time pass on the leadership to Asia—not as a permanent possession, but perhaps a possession to be kept for a time, and then to be returned by Asia to Europe. In this way civilization may pass around the world and a second time come to America. This is not given as a prophecy, but merely as a suggestion of a possible continuation of the westward movement of civilization, which has persisted throughout the past. To the student of world politics this seems not only a possibility but a probability. But the future has too much in store and is too uncertain to allow any sort of definite prediction. But any way Asia must be reckoned with in any world policy or program for the future.

However, as different nations and countries rise and progress in civilization, new opportunities are opened; thither man migrates. These opportunities may be religious, political, economic, physical, or esthetic, but they draw people from countries which offer less chance of development. Thus man is constantly migrating and society is ceaselessly in motion. In our next chapter we shall see how this migration has affected our own country.

CHAPTER VII

IMMIGRATION

American Immigration a Part of the Movement of Races.—The immigration problem of the United States is merely a specific illustration of the movement of races previously discussed. It is perhaps brought more forcibly to our attention than other illustrations because of the rapidity of its development. We are all immigrants or their descendants. It is merely a question of time—a matter of the date of arrival. Whether our ancestors came before 1700, helped in the development of the colonies, fought the Indians and joined in the struggle for independence; whether they came in the rush from Ireland in the 40's, bringing their entire possessions wrapped up in a bandanna handkerchief; or whether we ourselves landed at Ellis Island—it is only a matter of a few generations.

The immigration problem in America has had, however, one aspect which differs considerably from the general run. The movement of population of ancient times usually consisted in the migration of a whole tribe or of a considerable portion of it to one particular region or in one certain direction. America, in a singular manner, seems to have been a magnet which has drawn human beings from all directions, from all lands; from the rugged hills of Norway, the sunny slopes of Italy, the steppes of Russia, the banks of the Danube, and the settled districts of England and Germany. It has attracted the Oriental as well as the Occidental; but in the main this migration to America has been in harmony with other migrations in being a westward movement. America has been the melting pot; into it the different cultures and civilizations of the earth have been indiscriminately thrown; they have been intermingled by the different

interests at work in our country, and it is only a question of time till the mass cools off and we can see what the final product is. Perhaps it is also only a question of time until we in turn pour out our surplus population to less densely inhabited regions. If so, then the problem will be even more serious, for it is only the hardiest, the sturdiest, and the most daring that migrate. We may then object to emigration much more strenuously than we do now to immigration.

Causes of Immigration.—The motives of migration to the United States have been much the same as the causes already discussed, of migration to other parts of the world. The leading motives have been religious, political, and economic. Coupled with these have been minor motives, such as the desire for adventure, for escape from military service, or to avoid punishment of crime. The early settlers of New England came largely to escape religious persecution and to be free to worship God according to the dictates of their own consciences. The same was true of the settlers of Pennsylvania and Maryland. Virginia, New York, and Delaware were colonized by England, Holland, and Sweden, respectively, in an attempt by each to build up political supremacy.

Many immigrants have come to this country to escape political as well as religious persecution. This was especially true of the early German immigrant. The Carolinas and Georgia were settled mainly by convicts sent out from England for a double purpose—to get rid of the criminal class at home and to form a buffer state between Virginia and Spanish Florida. European countries made a practice for a long time, even after the Revolution, of sending their criminals here. To stop this was one of the problems confronting our nation in the early years of its history.

But the chief causes of immigration in recent years have been economic—the desire for greater wealth, and the opportunity to enjoy more returns from one's labor. This movement has been stimulated by advertising on the part of steamship companies, which have profited from

immigration. Our recent immigrants have come from countries that are less prosperous than our own, countries where they are accustomed to low wages, high taxes, and a hard life in general. They hear of the high wages to be obtained in America and are naturally attracted by them. This is particularly true of the Italian, Greek, and Slavic peoples.

The founders of the United States as a nation were primarily English, Scotch, and Welsh, with here and there a sprinkling of other nationalities, mostly the remnants of descendants of the colonies founded by other nations which tried to settle North America. The first immigrants were mostly of the same blood as the people who had helped to establish the nation, and were naturally welcomed to our shores in order to swell our scanty population, and thus make our country the more secure against foreign invasion, and to aid in winning from the red man and the wild beasts the great unknown region west of the Alleghanies. But the number of these newcomers was small even as late as 1840; in fact, it did not pass the 100,000 mark till 1842. In that year immigration took a jump, owing to the potato famine in Ireland and the growing discontent in Germany. Since that time immigration to our shores has taken place in waves. Different waves have been largely made up of separate nationalities, one nation at a time furnishing the bulk of the immigrants.

Irish.—The Irish were the first to incur the dislike of those who had preceded them. This was true even in colonial Massachusetts, where the Scotch-Irish began to arrive as early as 1714. This was caused by their general poverty, and different religious beliefs. Between 1714 and 1720 fifty-four ships arrived in Boston with Irish immigrants and after the famine of 1740 at least 12,000 arrived annually. The same complaint arose in Pennsylvania whither it was feared that the whole Irish population was bound. These immigrants quickly migrated to the frontier in New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, Western Massachusetts and, most of all, to the frontier in Pennsylvania, whence they migrated to the mountain valleys of Western

Virginia and the Carolinas. Here they settled the country, fought the Indians and the English, and added this wilderness to the area of the nation.

The chief reason for the coming of this element was the expiration of their hundred year leases in Ireland. When the English had overrun and laid waste the northern part of Ireland during the days of Cromwell it was made an almost uninhabited waste and to settle it up immigrants were tempted over, chiefly from Scotland, by the promise of free land in the way of one hundred-year leases. Here they were prosperous and built up industries, especially the linen industry, and successfully tilled the soil. Although these settlers had looked upon their leases as perpetual they were evicted from their homes; America was their only refuge. It offered them a new home, where they could be sure of the future. It was a place where land was either free or very cheap and where labor was in demand; so they migrated in large numbers from Ireland to America, where they have been known as Scotch-Irish.

While the immigrants from North Ireland continued to come in varying numbers the real Irish immigration began about 1820 when the real Irish population from South Ireland began to arrive. They were forced out of Ireland by political oppression and economic necessity. Therefore they brought little wealth; in fact, the majority of them brought their entire belongings wrapped up in bandanna handkerchiefs. The clothes that they wore were exceedingly rough; their manners were uncouth. They spoke a dialect which made conversation with them almost impossible. Ireland had been under a system of burdensome taxation, by which the farmer was taxed for every visible form of wealth. If he had stock he was taxed for it; hence came the temptation to keep the pig in the parlor, where the assessor would not be likely to find it. If he improved his property or wore decent clothes, he was assumed to be prosperous and was taxed accordingly. Hence he got into the habit of concealing his wealth and looking as downtrodden and woebegone as possible. This habit, of course, was brought over by the Irish immigrant. This

condition of poverty was greatly increased by successive failures of the potato crop, upon which the Irish had been forced to depend. Finally from the almost utter loss of the potato crop in 1846 due to rot there was terrible hardship. In the five-year period 1846-1850 more than a million Irish migrated, most of them coming to the United States, many of them in an almost destitute financial condition.

The rough-looking, uncouth Irish came mostly to Massachusetts. This made the contrast all the more marked, for Boston and Cambridge prided themselves upon their culture and education. At first the Irishman, being short of funds, was glad to get any kind of work and was not in a position to haggle over the wage; he took anything he could get; but it was not long before he began to supplant the native New Englander in the mills and factories. The manufacturers were quick to see that this uncouth newcomer had an unusually quick mind and readily adapted himself to new conditions, and so could easily take the place of the more expensive native. He was eager to work and quick to learn; so it was only a matter of a few years till he was very much in the majority in the factories. But when he became acquainted with our conditions he demanded as high wages as the native and quickly began to adopt our customs. As a result the Irish immigrants have been assimilated with remarkable rapidity.

Nor were they content merely to be quickly assimilated; they went on till they began to control. They obtained positions as bosses and foremen, and for these positions they showed remarkable ability. Then they drifted into politics, and to-day they are our political leaders. The Irish element has controlled Boston for years; it would be impossible now to elect a mayor who does not take this vote into consideration. In the same way the Irish have controlled Tammany in New York; in fact, in all our large cities where there are a number of Irish, they have become a strong political factor. At times they have formed a dangerous element, yet they have also exerted a good influence in politics.

Since 1820 Ireland has poured one-half of her popula-

tion into the United States, 4,000,000 coming as against 3,300,000 coming from Great Britain. The reason for this exodus has been largely economic; and they came to stay, as few have returned. They looked upon America, when they came, as their future home. If the men came alone they quickly sent for their families or sweethearts to join them. In recent years the Irish have ceased to come in such a steady stream. Before the World War Irish immigration had become a minor element in the immigrant stream. When England granted home rule to Ireland the former political oppression was to a great extent removed and things looked more promising for Ireland. Later, the unsettled political situation incident to the establishment of the Irish Free State led to increased emigration on the part of those who were dissatisfied with or injured by the turmoil and unsettled conditions. While our new quota law has favored the Irish along with the other countries of Northern and Western Europe the demand for admission to this country at times exceeded the quota limitation. Conditions are now becoming more settled and while it will require time to work out a highly efficient form of government and to build up industry and bring in agricultural prosperity through co-operation, conditions are steadily improving. The future of Ireland is more promising than that of England, for England will depend to a great extent upon Ireland for her food supply. So we cannot expect to receive many more Irish; in fact, Irish immigration on a large scale is a thing of the past. While the Irishman brought with him some undesirable traits, he also brought a genial disposition, the ability to mingle, quickness of observation, and an organizing ability; he has been a sturdy element in our population and has contributed a large share to the prosperity of this country.

German.—The motives that prompted the German to leave his home and to seek a new one were different from those which spurred on the Irish. The German sought liberty, a haven from religious and political persecution. Germany had been torn by many destructive wars, especially the Thirty Years' War. It not only had been invaded

by France under Louis XIV and later by Napoleon, but had been laid waste by internal struggles. Germany was then made up of a number of independent or semi-independent principalities. These were jealous of each other and were constantly quarreling. Each levied its own set of duties, which brought about confusion and led to endless disputes. In addition, there was a struggle between Catholics and Protestants. Every war was followed by relentless persecution and oppressive taxation. All these things, coupled with the oppression of the petty tyrants, made life almost unbearable. So it is no wonder that when good reports came of the freedom and prosperity in America, thousands sought to escape the oppression at home by emigrating. Germany had been terribly overrun by invading armies, and many regions, especially the Palatine, were almost turned into deserts. Even if there had been no oppression and cruelty at home, it would have been hard enough from an economic standpoint to get started again.

The Germans first came to America in 1683 when Germantown, near Philadelphia, was settled by religious refugees from the Rhineland. This was followed by settlements nearby. Migration was encouraged by William Penn, who even sent agents to Germany to encourage migration to America, promising religious and political freedom, also cheap land. These early settlers were Mennonites, Quakers, Dunkards and Moravians. Many migrated to England also, where they were encouraged by the government to come to America. They came in such numbers to Pennsylvania, however, that many of the former inhabitants became alarmed and they were not always welcomed. But these settlers became a sturdy element in the population, known presently as the "Pennsylvania Dutch." This first migration was largely because of religious persecution and the general unsatisfactory conditions in Germany. The later migration which began in large numbers toward the middle of the nineteenth century was due to political and economic reasons. The unsuccessful revolution of 1848 increased this migration tremendously and in

1854 the crest of the wave was reached with an immigration of 215,000 immigrants from Germany. In this migration there were also a considerable number of Bohemians, who came for much the same motives and represented a similar civilization.

The emigration became so great that the German government grew alarmed and took measures to stop it. Laws were passed, making emigration more difficult, but such measures were in vain. The Germans left for America, even if they were compelled to leave empty-handed. Some even sold their services for periods of from three to seven years to pay for their passage. This rush led to many abuses. Baggage would often be left behind on the wharves in Bremen or Hamburg; ships were overcrowded, causing much suffering as well as sickness and disease. In fact, many died on their way to America.

The Germans fared no worse than others who came about this time, but they happened to be caught in the rush. Their difficulties did not end upon arrival, for they were immediately set upon by sharpers and swindlers; being ignorant of our customs and language they were at the mercy of any who wished to impose upon them. Very often their personal belongings would be left in New York or at other points of arrival. The abuses became so bad that the United States Government took steps to eliminate the greatest evils. Numerous abuses were dealt with, such as overcrowding and poor accommodations. The sale of services to pay passage had previously been abolished in 1820.

This immigration even under such conditions was not wholly bad, for it aided in the settling up of our frontier in a much more rapid manner than otherwise would have been possible. German immigration kept up in a steady stream, except during the period of the Civil War, until the panic of 1873. After that it was largely diverted to other countries, especially South America, through the strenuous efforts of the German Government, in order to build up commerce and trade with the mother country, and

also because Germany feared that she would lose control of her emigrants if they came to the United States. So in recent years we have received few Germans.

While the Irish drifted into our cities, most of the Germans went to the country. They did not stop to overpopulate the farms of the eastern states but pushed to the frontier, going at first to western Pennsylvania and later to Wisconsin, Minnesota, and other western states, and especially to Wisconsin, which was being opened up after the Black Hawk War of 1833. Of the 2,069,042 persons in Wisconsin in 1900, 709,969 were of German blood.[1] Wisconsin was especially attractive because it offered cheap land ($1.25 an acre) which was especially adapted to farming. The climate was good; taxes were low, for there was no heavy debt. Only one year of residence was required for voting. Then, too, Wisconsin wanted settlers and encouraged immigration, especially of Germans; to get them it advertised for immigrants and maintained an agency for a time in New York to help direct them to Wisconsin. Minnesota offered equal or nearly equal opportunities, and received a large share of the German immigration.

The Germans were not so easily assimilated as the Irish, being more stubborn in giving up their former habits and customs, especially their language. This was particularly true if they settled in communities—a method characteristic of the Germans. They liked their old customs and were loath to give them up. However, they made substantial citizens when once assimilated, for when they did adopt our customs they selected our best ones. They brought additional problems to our civilization, however, the most important of which was perhaps beer drinking. They built up breweries and were largely responsible for the great increase in the consumption of beer in the United States. Economically, the Germans were very thrifty and prosperous. They were industrious and from an economic standpoint probably the most successful of all our immi-

[1] Census of 1920 showed in Wisconsin 151,000 *born* in Germany.

grants. The low percentage of illiteracy among them upon arrival and their strong physique also helped make them a substantial element in our population. In the Civil War they enlisted in large numbers in the Union Army, although they had been here but a short period of time.

As soon as the United States began to play an important rôle in the World War by furnishing the Entente Allies with ammunition and supplies, this country became a scene of operations for the German spy system. The large German element in our population furnished a splendid field not only for concealing spies sent over by Germany, but also for recruiting more spies and sympathizers. Although many of German descent supported this movement, the majority of the Teutonic element in our population was loyal to this country. The stigma from the disloyal element, however, did persist for a while, but already it has practically disappeared and the German element in our population is rapidly regaining its former respect and popularity and it will be but a short time till their war-time unpopularity has been forgotten. While our present quota policy favors the Germans this number is far below the former German immigration.

French.—We have received comparatively few immigrants from France, especially in recent years. Early in our history some came because of religious persecution. These were the French Huguenots and they furnished one of the sturdiest and most valuable elements of our colonial population, but since the time when the United States became a refuge for the oppressed, France has improved religiously and politically. The era of Napoleon and the French Revolution gave France liberty, and the Frenchman has had no special reasons for leaving his country. France has been economically prosperous for many years. Those French that we have received have come to us by way of Canada and will be discussed later. Those that have come directly from France have been generally highly skilled workers such as experienced cooks and waiters, and members of the professional class, especially teachers and singers. Whether now that the World War is over we

shall receive a larger French immigration will depend upon how successfully France recovers from the effects of the war, whether she will be able to rebuild her ruined industries and regain her foreign trade, and whether the burden of taxation can be borne successfully. In all probability, however, we shall receive few immigrants from France in the future for she has no excess of population, her birth-rate has been on the decrease, and she bids fair to offer work for all her population at home for a long time to come.

Scandinavian.—Under this head are included those immigrants from Sweden and Norway, and also Denmark, for the Danes belong to the same racial stock. This migration began about 1820, and from 1821 till 1903 the total immigration from these countries amounted to 1,609,922. In 1882 it amounted to 105,326, or 13.3 per cent of the total immigration, but in 1907 it had dropped to 40,965, or 3.9 per cent, and since then has continued to diminish. In 1903, the number was exceeded by only three countries, Germany, Ireland and England, but since then it has been passed by Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia. Formerly the Scandinavian immigration formed an important addition to our population, but now it has become a minor element in the immigration stream. Among the Scandinavians were many sailors, carpenters, painters, and shoemakers, but the majority were servants and day laborers. They went to Minnesota, New York, Wisconsin, North and South Dakota, Illinois, and Michigan, where they helped to settle up new parts of the country, especially Minnesota and the Dakotas. About half of the recent arrivals have been females, who have come to join relatives or friends or to enter domestic service. Scandinavians have brought with them on an average twenty-five dollars in money; the percentage of illiteracy is very small, being only 0.7 per cent, or practically nothing. Although cold and austere in disposition, they are steady and hard working. Because of their mentality and education they learn the English language easily and are quickly assimilated. They have taken an active interest in politics, generally on the

side of good government. North Dakota was one of the first prohibition states, and Wisconsin has very advanced industrial legislation. Not only have they sent their children to school, but they have fostered higher education. The growth of the University of Minnesota is an evidence of this. With the exception of petty misdemeanors the Scandinavians are exceptionally free from crime and pauperism.

With the exception of Ireland, Norway is said to have sent a larger percentage of her population to the United States than any other country.[2] Very few Danes come to this country now, owing to the increase in the past few years of the economic prosperity of Denmark through the introduction of co-operative methods of agriculture and especially of marketing produce. Sweden is now passing from an agricultural to an industrial nation, hence there is a scarcity of labor and wages are high. Her merchant marine has increased wonderfully because of her strategic natural location. These factors have tended to keep the Swedes at home the last few years. Then, too, their government discourages emigration and endeavors to restrict it. Norway is following Sweden somewhat in this direction. Moreover, we do not offer such inducements to the Scandinavian as we formerly did; our cheap land is all gone, and there is competition with the Italian and the Slav, who have lower standards of living and are willing to work for lower wages.

The Scandinavian has been a great help to this country. Coming from a country where life was one continuous struggle with nature, he was inured to hard work and had developed a strength of character that was bound to bring him to the front. We can hardly expect, at least for some time to come, to receive many more of this class for, after the war, all three of these countries became more prosperous. To-day they are not burdened with war debt and they have not had their industries crippled—except for the merchant marine tonnage which was sunk

[2] Flom, G. T., *History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States*, p. 27, 1909 (Torch Press, Cedar Rapids, Ia.).

during the war—or their population killed off, but are in a position to profit by the war through the trade and commerce which is coming to them, to say nothing of the profit realized during hostilities by selling supplies to the warring nations. As a consequence there seems to be no motive for migration.

Change in Immigration from Northern and Western to Southern and Eastern Europe.—The greatest change—and one which is to be regretted—has been in the nationality of our immigrants. We have recently received very few from Ireland, England, Germany, and the Scandinavian countries. Instead our immigrants came from Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia, Greece, Turkey, and the Balkan States. The Italian and the Slav predominate. The danger and alarm over this immigration arose from differences in customs, habits, education and standards of living. Because of its effect upon our social life, this change caused our recent alarm over immigration, and made the immigration problem a serious one. The inhabitant of northern Europe was accustomed to a civilization and standard of living which was not materially different from our own. He was educated—at least the percentage of illiteracy was very low—while the inhabitant of Italy and Austria-Hungary, as a result of generations of oppression and economic distress, was uneducated, and accustomed to different standards and ideals. This change in the source of immigration to the United States is shown by the examination of the statistics for the years 1882 and 1907, both years of maximum immigration.[3]

Country—	*1882 Immigrants.*	*Percentage of Immigrants.*	
Great Britain and Ireland	179,423	23.8%	
Germany	250,630	31.7	
Scandinavia	105,326	13.3	
Netherlands, France and Switzerland	27,795	3.5	
Total northern and western Europe.			71.3%
Italy	32,159	4.1	
Austria-Hungary	29,150	3.7	
Russia, Balkans, etc.	22,010	2.7	
Total, southern and eastern Europe.			10.5
All other countries	142,499		18.2
Total	788,992		100. %

[3] Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems,* 1913 ed., pp. 203-4 (American Book Co.).

Country—	*1907 Immigrants.*	*Percentage of Immigrants.*	
Great Britain and Ireland	113,567	8.8%	
Scandinavia	49,965	3.9	
Germany	37,807	2.9	
Netherlands, France and Switzerland	26,512	2.1	
Total, northern and western Europe.			17.7%
Austria-Hungary	338,452	26.3	
Italy	285,731	22.2	
Russia	258,943	20.1	
Greece, Serbia, Rumania, etc.	88,482	6.9	
Total, southern and eastern Europe.			75.5
All other countries	85,890		6.8
Total	1,285,349		100. %

If we examine the immigration statistics for the year ending June 30, 1914—just before the World War began —we find that the figures correspond to those of 1907.

IMMIGRATION, 1914

Country—	*Number Immigrants*	*Per Ct. of Total*	
Great Britain and Ireland	73,417	6. %	
Scandinavia	29,391	2.4	
Germany	35,734	2.9	
Netherlands, France, Switzerland, etc.	25,591	2.	
Total, northern and western Europe.			13.3%
Austria-Hungary	278,152	22.8	
Italy	283,738	23.3	
Russia	255,660	20.9	
Greece, Serbia, Rumania, etc.	57,252	4.7	
Total, southern and western Europe.			71.7
Asia	34,273		2.8
All other countries	145,272		11.9
Total	1,218,480		100. %

We have already considered the countries from which we formerly received the bulk of our immigrants, and the reasons why their numbers fell off even before our present restriction policy. Now let us discover why we later attracted the peoples of Italy, Austria-Hungary, Russia and similar countries. In order to do this we must study the economic and social conditions of those countries. Such a study will also show why their emigrants have not made the most desirable additions to our country, or at least why they have not been wanted.

Italian.—In studying the Italian problem we must distinguish between the northern and the southern Italians. Northern Italy is mostly agricultural, although the soil is not rich, except in the river valleys. The people have a hard struggle to make a living, but this very struggle has given them a hardiness and strength of character that make them desirable citizens when they come to the United States. It is much the same with them as with the Norwegians and Swedes, although the racial stock is different. Southern Italy, on the contrary, is not suited for agriculture. Because the forests have been nearly all cut off, and because the hills are steep, and the streams short and rapid, the soil has been washed away by floods and land-slides. The country is also very unhealthful, malaria being especially prevalent, and because of this the people live on the hill-tops and have to go long distances to their work. All these things put together make farming unprofitable, and the emigrants from this district less valuable as prospective citizens.

The land system of Italy is a great handicap to the economic prosperity of the country. Most of the land is held by large estates; a considerable amount by the church. The government has attempted to effect a more equal distribution by selling some land in small tracts, but being pressed for money it has sold on hard terms, giving especially large discounts for cash. As the poor have no cash they cannot benefit by the discount, and it does them little good. The laws of inheritance are such as to compel the breaking up of an estate into small parts. These are often too small to be worked profitably; consequently, they are absorbed by other large estates. This has brought about a steady decrease in the number of land owners. The owners of the large estates turn them over to agents, who rent them out in small lots at the highest possible rent. This compels the renter to work the land for all that he can get out of it, the soil deteriorates and the farms are ruined. Being ignorant of the best methods of fertilization and tillage and of other modern processes, the farmer uses the same old wooden plows and clumsy

hoes that have been in use for centuries; he still threshes out his grain by hand. It is impossible to produce much per capita, and because the productivity of labor is low, wages are correspondingly low. Before the war a farm hand obtained about thirty cents a day, or from fifty to eighty dollars a year. He was compelled to live in straw huts along with his cattle; his children went to work at an early age, having little or no chance for an education.

In southern Italy and Sicily, boys were put to work in the sulphur mines; they were often sold outright until maturity for from ten to twenty dollars each. The parent hoped to redeem them but seldom was able to do so, and they were compelled to work like slaves until they came of age. In these mines they brought the sulphur up to the surface upon their backs and generally went stark naked. Children ordinarily have been expected to earn their own way as soon as they reached the age of thirteen or fourteen, and sometimes even before that. The laborer is in such a poor position for bargaining that he gets leases only on ruinous terms. It is much the same as with the American Negro, only much worse. Also when he goes to work for wages he is frequently compelled to leave home and travel to find work. This breaks up the home life and is one cause of the low moral conditions that exist in Italy to-day. Because so many men leave the country there is a preponderance of females; woman becomes cheap, family ties are lax, and immorality flourishes.

As a result of ignorance, bad environment, and the necessity of going to work so early in life, marriages are contracted at a very early age. For the same reason the birth rate is high and families are large. The death rate is likewise high. The population is denser than that of Germany, France, India, or China, and is only exceeded by that of Great Britain, Belgium, Japan, and, in America, Rhode Island and Massachusetts.

Before the war the Italian peasant spent 85 per cent of his income for food, as against 62 per cent spent by the German worker, and 41 per cent by the American workman. Then in addition the army and navy expenditures

of the Italian government took five per cent of the income of the people, which was higher than that of Germany or France. These expenditures for the United States amounted to only two per cent. Five years of service in the army or navy were required of every able-bodied peasant.

It is no wonder, then, that when the Italian heard of better wages in America he wanted to come. The motives prompting him were purely economic. He did not, as a rule, look upon America as a permanent home, but merely as a place where he could earn some money. He has come not only to America, but he has gone to other countries as well—in fact, wherever there has been a demand for labor. Recently South America has attracted him. The Italian has laid railroads in the United States, South America, Australia, and even in Siberia. He has dug canals, subways, and ditches; laid sewers; built streets. In fact, he has done all kinds of unskilled labor. But once having his pocket filled, he is quite ready to return to his native Italy and spend it all there.

While undoubtedly emigration has been a relief to Italy in that it has taken away her surplus population and sent back millions of dollars each year, it has not been the best method of solving her problem. While emigrants sent back from $30,000,000 to $80,000,000 each year, Italy was not repaid for her loss in citizenship. Over 12,000,000 people have left Italy, one-third coming to the United States, one-third going to South America, and the rest to other countries. But these 12,000,000 have been Italy's sturdiest and best citizens. Many have returned physical wrecks, being worn out by the strenuous labor and unhealthful conditions, such as the rigor of our climate; many returned only to die. This situation has alarmed the Italian government, and it has recently taken steps to restrict emigration. To solve the situation, Italy must educate her people so that they can be more productive and thus assist in solving their social problems.

In the United States the Italian usually goes first to the construction camps. When he becomes more prosperous

he becomes an organ grinder or junk dealer or sets up a fruit stand. Economically he is prosperous; but he generally sends a large share of this prosperity back to Italy and later takes the remainder with him, for he usually returns. Socially, as we shall see later, the Italian is a problem, since he brings a lower standard of living with him. Yet without him it would have been very difficult to build our railroads, dig our subways, lay our sewers, and pave our streets. Economically he has been a boon to our capitalist, but a competitor to our native laborer. Undoubtedly he has lowered wages, or at least has kept them from advancing. Socially and morally he has been more of a detriment than a help. He has brought us such problems as the Black Hand. He lives in crowded sections of our cities when not in a construction camp, enduring conditions and living on wages that an American would not tolerate. He has a very high rate of illiteracy and does not readily become assimilated—at least not so readily as some other immigrants. This is largely owing to the lack of close contact with Americans, rather than to the quality of his mind, for the Italian is unusually quick of mind and keen of perception. He is also of a friendly and genial disposition, although revengeful. While personally by no means a bad fellow, as a class the Italian immigrant has been a dangerous element in our population because of his competition with native labor, lack of education, and low standards of living and of morality.

One contribution which the Italians have made to our civilization is often overlooked, that is, what they have given us in the way of music and art. Not only have they furnished artists and musicians but a large share of our great musical artists have come from Italy, such as Caruso, Galli-Curci, and Tetrazzini. It is extremely doubtful if grand opera in this country would exist without the Italian singers, to say nothing of our orchestras, composers and conductors.

The World War not only stopped Italian immigration but actually caused many Italians to return home to serve in the Italian army. The war aided Italian industry by

stopping the competition of German goods and many factories were started with the encouragement of the Italian government and the Allies. After the war the new industries encountered difficulties in the way of foreign competition and the lack of coal and foreign markets. Emigration to America set in again till checked by American restriction. This restriction has caused little ill-feeling in Italy, for the new, strong government of Mussolini has regretted this migration and has taken steps to keep the population at home by furnishing work and by a policy of political expansion. So the quota restriction of 1924, which cut Italian immigration to 3,845, or less than what formerly often came in a single shipload, has met with general favor in the United States and little official opposition in Italy.

The Slav.—The Slav is divided into eight different groups, as follows: (1) Polish, (2) Slovak, (3) Croatian and Slovenian, (4) Ruthenian or Rusniak, (5) Bohemian and Moravian, (6) Bulgarian and Montenegrin, (7) Russian, and (8) Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Herzegovinian.[4] Each of these is distinct from the others but ordinarily undistinguished, because the average American is not familiar enough with European geography to know the exact location of all the countries and provinces from which these people come. Even our census bureau classifies them according to the nation from which they departed rather than according to the divisions of the Slavic race. Each group has its own customs and characteristics, and some groups are much more desirable than others. The Bohemians, for example, are much higher in culture and education than others, possibly because of greater contact with German culture; they also furnish a higher percentage of skilled laborers.

The languages spoken by the Slavs are almost as numerous as their political groups, there being at least six different tongues, to say nothing of dialects. They are as follows: (1) Russian, divided further into Great, Little,

[4] Balch, Emily, *Our Slavic Fellow-citizens,* 1910 (Char. Pub. Co.).

and White Russian; (2) Bulgarian; (3) Servo-Croatian; (4) Slovenian; (5) Polish; (6) Bohemian and Slovak. While having a general resemblance, they are distinct languages, rich in grammatical forms and combinations of consonants each peculiar to itself. This has added to the difficulties of our immigration officials.

In regard to physique the Slav is short, thick-set, stocky, and heavy in motion; he has a broad face, wide-set eyes, usually blue in color, a broad snub nose, and a lowering forehead. He is characterized by a lack of aggressiveness and cohesion, although he makes a brave and fearless fighter when properly led. The Pole under Napoleon was a dreaded fighter, but when he meets the German warrior he is usually defeated because of the lack of organization.

The Slav, coming formerly from Asia, to-day comprises about one-fourth of the 400,000,000 population of Europe. Since settling in Europe he has lost much territory, for at one time he held half of Germany and what was formerly Austria-Hungary.

The economic condition of Austria-Hungary before the war was very similar to that of Italy in respect to the use of antique methods. The land was held largely in strips, for when serfdom was abolished in 1848 it was so divided among the serfs that each could get a strip of meadow, a strip of upland, and a right to pasture land.

The political conditions in Austria-Hungary before the war were chaotic. Each division hated the other. They had few things in common, having separate money, separate legislatures and separate postal systems. They had a ruler in common—or rather the Hungarians were under the Austrian emperor. At the beginning of the war many Slavic regiments went over in a body to the Russians, and the Austrian government had great difficulty in stopping desertions and compelling enlistments. In many cases, especially in Galatia, it resorted to stern methods.

Yet the Slavs seldom hang together and are easily set into hostile camps, as was evidenced in the Second Balkan War, when Serbia, Greece, and Rumania turned upon Bulgaria, because Bulgaria took the lion's share of the

spoils of the First Balkan War. This was probably the chief cause of Bulgaria's casting her lot with Germany—so as to fight Serbia again. This jealousy has thus far kept the Balkan states from uniting and forming a strong federation.

Social reforms are difficult with such people, for they are too ignorant to appreciate them. They look upon disease as being sent by God, and hold any attempt to check it cowardly because we are not willing to take what God sends. The social standing of the peasant is below that of the merchant but higher than that of the laborer. Every peasant has a fear of becoming a mere laborer—a possibility that has stared him in the face constantly because of the economic conditions. This fear has been one of the strongest incentives for emigration. Men have even borrowed money in order to come to America. The position of woman is very low; she is beaten by her husband; she is considered little better than a beast of burden, even at times helping to drag the plow. This attitude towards women is one thing to which the American objects. Here the Slav finds himself in opposition to our methods of life.

Special causes of emigration have been heavy taxation, army service, political unrest, and oppression on the part of the government. Emigration has also been stimulated by the advertising of the agents of the steamship companies.

The immigrants from Russia have been mostly Jews, Poles, Finns, Lithuanians, and Germans, or in other words, the classes that have been persecuted or held down by the Russian government. Russia for generations discriminated against the Jews because of their greater intelligence and prosperity. After the conquest of Poland by Russia, Austria, and Germany, Poland was oppressed, especially Russian Poland; therefore the Poles migrated to obtain political liberty. The Finns are much superior to the Russians and rank as one of the highest in literacy of all the nations of the world, far exceeding the United States. They are highly educated and industrious, but Russia gradually took away all liberties from Finland, including the

right to their own language and educational system. It tried to Russianize them and subjected them to oppressive taxation. The World War gave Finland her freedom and thereby removed these reasons for migration. The Russians themselves have formed the smallest part of the Slavic group of our immigrants, for they, encouraged by their government, went to Siberia.

There are about 4,000,000 Slavs in the United States; they are largely in colonies where common labor is in demand, for example, in steel centers, such as Gary and Pittsburgh. The Polish populations of some of our cities are as follows: Chicago, 250,000; Buffalo, 70,000; Milwaukee, 65,000; Detroit, 50,000; Pittsburgh, 50,000; Cleveland, 30,000; Toledo, 14,000. There are 423,000 Slavs in Pennsylvania, 389,000 in Illinois, and 356,000 in New York.

The economic position of the Slav is generally that of a laborer, and if he is unskilled and cannot speak English his wages are low, ranging before the war from $1.35 to $1.65 a day. If skilled, he gets more, especially in the steel mills. He tries to get the prevailing wage, but before he acquires our language and a knowledge of our customs he is unable to do it. The increase of immigration, especially of Slavs and Italians, has forced wages down, especially in the mines. A characteristic of the Slav is that he will accept dangerous and unhealthful work. In the mines he has worked drifts that no one else will undertake on account of the danger; in the steel mills he has endured long hours and hard labor.

The social and moral conditions found among the Slavs are bad. Few men brought their women at first, sending for them later. When a man sent for his wife, he generally rented or built a little shack of one or two rooms. Then he took in boarders and roomers, these often sleeping on the floor as thick as space would permit. Conditions for bringing up children were thereby made terrible. The Slav is a hard drinker, especially of spirits, and when drinking is very dangerous, being prone to fight and to commit murder. Because the Slavs have huddled together in colonies they have not come into contact with our habits

and customs, but maintained their old ones, sometimes even lowering their own standards of living in order to save as much money as possible. The housing conditions among the Slavs in the packing-house districts of Chicago are among the worst in the city. There is little regard paid to sanitation and hygiene; their moral condition is also bad.

The greatest increase in Slavic immigration before the war was from the Hungarians, the number of whom was, in 1890, thirteen times the number in 1880; next came the Poles, the number of whom increased eight times; then the Lithuanians and Serbians. Bohemian immigration fell off. Just after the World War the immigration from the Balkan states increased rapidly.

The quota law of 1924 discriminates most severely against the Slavic nationalities, almost wiping out that immigration. On the other hand if the new governments established in Poland, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugo-Slavia, Finland, and Russia succeed in obtaining for their peoples greater economic prosperity as well as better political privileges and social conditions, desire to migrate will diminish.

The same will be true with regard to Rumania and Bulgaria. In many regions, as in large parts of Poland, the population was so thinned out by the war that there will be no surplus population for years to come. Most of these Slavic states will begin their careers without the burden of heavy debts, because the new governments will not be obliged to assume the obligations of the older states; this will be a decided advantage. The enforcement of the literacy test still further restricts Slavic immigration because a large percentage of Slavs are illiterate. With this curtailing of Slavic immigration, the United States will be the gainer, for we have considered this class of immigration undesirable because of their low standards of living.

Other Nationalities—Greeks.—The Greeks have come to this country in considerable numbers in the past few years, although they have created no great social problem because of the smallness of the Greek population. They go mostly into such occupations as boot-blacking and res-

taurant keeping. Economically they are prosperous, the Greek bootblack having put the native American and colored bootblacks out of competition. In fact, that is characteristic of the Greek; he generally takes up some such minor occupation, systematizes it, and makes a good thing out of what someone else treated only as a side-line. One problem comes in with the bootblack business, however, that is, child labor and the consequent failure to obey the school laws. A system almost like peonage is resorted to at times, boys being brought from Greece to work in the Greek shoe-shining parlors. Greeks also have shown little regard for other laws and customs, such as pure-food regulations, honest weights and measures, and have been frequently found connected in various ways with the white slave traffic. Because of such habits and moral standards we are undoubtedly the gainers by the 1924 quota restriction which reduced Greek immigration to 100 a year. Possibly we have not received the highest types of the Greek population but what we have received has injured rather than aided our civilization.

Armenians, Assyrians, and Syrians.—These three nationalities are grouped together because of their similarity, not only as regards racial stock and appearance, but also in regard to effect upon the United States. The Armenians have come to this country largely because of religious persecutions by the Turkish government; the first ones came at the suggestion of the Christian missionaries among them. Many had trades, such as baking, tailoring and shoemaking. The amount of money brought was small, being only twenty-three dollars per capita. The percentage of illiteracy was quite high, being 21.9 per cent for those over fourteen years of age. Some are highly educated merchants and are very desirable, but others are much less so. In Turkey the Armenians have been the traders, and because of their cleverness and ability to get the better of the slower-witted Turks they have been much hated. When they come to this country they generally settle in colonies in manufacturing centers.

The Assyrians and Syrians are much alike. They have

come to this country to escape the persecution of the Turkish government, a persecution which has been little better than legalized robbery. They have furnished in recent years the majority of our pack peddlers. Many of these later settle down as small merchants.

The Armenian race barely escaped extermination during the war, and there are few of them left. Again our present restrictions almost wipe out immigration from these countries. On the whole this will not be regretted, for as a class these people have not been liked by the American people—largely because of their swarthy appearance—although they have not presented the problem that the Slav and Italian have given us.

Portuguese.—The Portuguese have settled largely in and around New Bedford, Massachusetts, and in the Hawaiian Islands, and there is a small settlement in California. A Portuguese vessel was once wrecked near New Bedford; the sailors liked the place and established themselves there; from that the Portuguese immigration started. They work in the cotton mills of this and surrounding towns. They also go into market gardening, in which they are very successful, supplanting the native Americans, largely because of their ability to undersell them. They are very industrious but compel the whole family to work. To do this they take the children out of school as soon as the law permits, looking upon compulsory school attendance in much the same way as they would required military service. Their standards are lower than those of the native Americans but they quickly accumulate property, and it will be only a matter of a few generations till they form a sturdy part of our population. They are small in number, however, coming only to the regions indicated. Their landing in Hawaii was under much the same circumstances as at New Bedford. Here they work on the plantations and, as in this country, become economically successful.

French Canadians.—The French Canadians come to us principally from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Quebec. They go mainly to New England, where they work in the factories, and in doing so underbid all races.

While the English, Scotch, and Welsh become our most desirable citizens, the French Canadians are not as desirable, largely because of historical reasons. The pioneer French settlers were sturdy people, but when England took over Canada they became separated from France and have never been assimilated by the English. They have kept their religion, language and schools, but because of their isolation they have degenerated. They have lived in the least productive parts of Canada and as a result of their isolation and bad economic situation have dropped backward in the scale of civilization. Because their birth rate is exceedingly high, they increase faster than almost any other element of our population.

They do not expect to remain permanently, and generally take for a dwelling any unoccupied structure that they can find. They have a strong tendency to send their children to work in the factories at as early an age as they can, frequently evading the school laws when that is possible. Besides working in the factories, the French Canadians go into the lumber camps, where they are skilled workmen. They have a great fondness for alcohol, and when under the influence of liquor they are often quarrelsome. The French Canadians are generally classed among the undesirables, but because of their residence in Canada, there is great difficulty in keeping them out, except by means of the literacy test.

Japanese.—Japanese immigration was insignificant until very recently; until 1891 it amounted to less than 1,000 a year; but between 1891 and 1905, 95,000 had come in. The majority of these first settlers stopped in Hawaii. Census figures are inaccurate because so many Japanese have entered by way of Mexico and Canada. Their motive for coming is purely economic. Because of the overpopulation in Japan, wages there are very low. Nevertheless, because of their frugality they bring with them an average of forty-five dollars per capita. Their wages in this country are much lower than wages paid to white men, amounting before the war to from eighty-five to ninety cents a day in the beet fields. Because they do so much work for this small wage, they have aroused the hatred

of the American worker, and have caused a general dislike of the Japanese.

Japanese immigrants become laborers, farm hands and servants. In California they have taken up market gardening and have been very successful. This was the reason for the alien land bill passed in California a few years ago. In that state they are disliked very much more than the Chinese because of their fearlessness and stubbornness. Unlike the Chinese they are not timid and will fight. While the percentage of illiteracy is fairly high, being 21.6 per cent, the Japanese have many admirable traits. They are law abiding, thrifty, clean, neat, quick, intelligent, and have a high respect for government.

The relationship between the United States and Japan, although delicate at times, has always been friendly. While Japan has been very sensitive in regard to any discrimination against her citizens, she has probably regretted their emigration to the United States as heartily as we have disliked their immigration. As a result of this situation Secretary Root, during Roosevelt's administration, negotiated in 1907 the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" by which Japan agreed to restrict emigration by the limitation of passports to the United States. This agreement Japan lived up to, and since then practically all of our Japanese immigrants have come to us by way of Hawaii.

In 1924 Congress, by forbidding the immigration of all those who were ineligible to become citizens, excluded the Japanese. This undoubtedly was a very unwise piece of legislation for we were receiving only a few hundred Japanese a year and even these could have been kept out by a treaty agreement with Japan. Its effect will largely be to antagonize a friendly but sensitive nation.

Chinese.—The immigration of the Chinese loomed up as a serious problem before the exclusion acts in the 80's. These were carried out by means of treaty agreements with China, by which Chinese were debarred from entering this country, except for special purposes, such as studying in our schools. Because the Chinese do not intermarry with the Americans, and because not enough

Chinese women are imported to keep up the population, the number is diminishing or at least is kept down. The Chinese originally brought with them very low standards; they lived in hovels, ate poor food, used opium to a great extent, and were immoral in their habits; therefore they formed a very undesirable element. Others coming in more recently have been of higher type, and have become successful in most of our cities as laundrymen, restaurant keepers, and small merchants. While possibly unjust theoretically, the exclusion acts were probably justified on the grounds of social expediency. The Chinese were a serious menace to American labor, on account of their willingness to underbid the native worker, and their ability to live on less due to their lower standard of living. It is not meant that the Chinese are the most inferior of races, or that as a race the Chinese are inferior to the Japanese, for the Chinese in many ways are able and vigorous. It was rather the class of the Chinese which we were receiving that caused the problem. We were receiving the coolie or laboring class and their vast numbers, combined with the ability of the Chinese coolie to live on less than the American laboring man, caused the worry and produced the opposition to Chinese immigration and the resulting treaties.

Mexican.—Another type of immigration which affects our Southwest is the Mexican. This problem is complicated because we have a Spanish-American citizen element in the Southwest, descending from earlier Spanish settlers. Many of these, although native-born American citizens, cannot speak the English language. This is particularly true of the women, for the majority of the men have been compelled by association to learn our language. Because of the lack of compulsory education, till very recent years many have never learned English. In addition to this native element in Southern California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas, we have the constant migration to and from Mexico, many coming to the United States to work in our cotton fields, sugar beet fields, on our railroads, and in our construction camps. Until 1918 the number of re-

corded arrivals ranged between 10,000 and 20,000 a year, of whom about two-thirds were males. Since then the number of arrivals has begun to increase rapidly, reaching 52,361 in 1920. Offsetting this immigration there has been a constant emigration, which, however, fell off in 1920, amounting to only 6,606 in that year. In 1920 the census gives 269,885 as the number of Mexicans in the United States.

The Mexicans are generally laborers and live by themselves in their sections of the towns. They are generally peaceful and law-abiding and are respected by many. They are habitually polite, far exceeding the Americans in this respect. They are lacking in physical strength, energy, initiative, and mental and moral vigor. They live on a lower plane—partly due to lower wages—than American laborers, and have different religious, educational, and moral standards. While many Americans respect them, others do not. Such sentiments, in fact, depend largely upon locality and accompanying conditions. The problem is not serious, because most of Mexico is not thickly settled and laborers are in demand. If Mexico ever achieves a strong democratic form of government, this immigration may diminish.

Since the restriction on European immigration there has been an increased demand for cheap labor and Mexicans, to whom the quota does not apply, have been coming in increased numbers. Many are brought in in violation of our restrictions, especially in regard to contract labor and the literacy test. Because of the difficulty of patrolling such an extended border, this is comparatively easy, provided of course they are wanted in this country. While no great problem as yet, it is a growing one because of the effect upon American wages and the low standards of the Mexicans. Already in Colorado this is being felt in regard to child labor, school attendance and even in regard to poor relief during the winter months in the cities like Denver, where beet workers go to spend the winter months. Mexicans are now being employed as far east as the Michigan beet fields and the steel mills in and around Pittsburgh.

If this continues and no steps are taken to restrict Mexican immigration this element may cause us some trouble.

Tides of Immigration.—As before noted, immigration has come to this country in waves, the waves following our periods of prosperity. The first big wave came in 1842, when the 100,000 mark was reached. Then because of the financial uncertainty of the next year and because of the political unrest owing to the Mexican War, immigration fell off. The next wave did not reach our shores till 1854, when 427,000 foreigners arrived. After the Civil War the wave did not return till 1882—when the country had recovered from the panic of 1873; but this time it reached 788,000. Thereafter the number decreased and did not reach the former level until the country had repaired the losses caused by the panic of 1893. It increased in the later 90's and reached its crest in 1907, just before the panic of that year, when 1,285,349 were received. The number of arrivals immediately fell off but soon began again to increase until, in 1913 and 1914, the number had almost reached the high-water mark of 1907. With the beginning of the World War immigration immediately decreased, the tide turned in the opposite direction, for many aliens returned to fight in the European armies. The next year immigration had fallen to 326,700 or 26.8 per cent of that of the preceding year.

Legislative Restrictions Upon Immigration.—Congress recognized no problem in immigration till 1875, although long before that time the public began to feel that there was a problem; legislation is always slower than public opinion. In 1875 Congress passed an act excluding women imported for immoral purposes, convicts, and contract laborers.

In 1882 the first general Act controlling immigration was passed. This Act ordered the exclusion of persons liable to become public charges, such as lunatics, idiots, and those without means of taking care of themselves. It imposed a fine upon any steamship company and captain importing such, and obligated the steamship company to give them free transportation back to the country of embarkation.

The Act of 1891 added to these classes those afflicted with loathsome or contagious diseases, polygamists, and anyone whose passage was paid by another, unless affirmatively shown that he was not otherwise objectionable. It prohibited the extensive advertising of the steamship companies, limiting the advertising to the publishing of the fares and the dates of sailing. This provision, however, has become a dead letter because of lack of any jurisdiction in foreign countries. This Act provided for the exclusion within one year of those immigrants who had entered unlawfully, and of those who had become public charges from causes operative prior to their landing. A head tax of fifty cents to pay for the expenses of inspection and relief of the immigrant upon landing was levied.

The Act of 1893, after providing for some administrative changes, increased the head tax to two dollars, and added to the excluded lists procurers, anarchists, and those assisted by others than friends; and it extended the examination to cabin passengers. In 1897 this head tax was raised to four dollars.

The Act of 1903 was much broader. After reducing the head tax to two dollars, it reclassified the excluded classes as follows: (1) idiots, (2) insane, (3) epileptics, (4) persons who have been insane within five years prior to arrival, (5) persons who have had two or more attacks of insanity at any previous time, (6) paupers, (7) persons likely to become public charges, (8) professional beggars, (9) persons afflicted with a dangerous or loathsome disease, (10) persons convicted of some felony or misdemeanor involving moral turpitude (not including those convicted of purely political offenses) (11) polygamists, (12) anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence either of the government of the United States, or of all governments, or of all forms of law, or who favor the assassination of public officials; (13) prostitutes, (14) persons who procure or attempt to bring in prostitutes or women for purposes of prostitution, (15) those whose passage has been paid by others, unless it is affirmatively proved that they do not belong to any other

of the excluded groups—or that they have been sent for by relatives or friends in this country. No mention was made of contract laborers because the Acts of 1885 and 1888 on this subject still held good.

In addition to this legislation the treaty arrangements with China during the 80's excluded Chinese immigration.

The Act of 1907 kept most of the features of the Act of 1903; it defined a little better the excluded classes, again raised the head tax to four dollars, and included the contract labor clause. It provided for the return of an alien within three years who was found in a house of prostitution or who engaged in prostitution as a business. It also provided a fine of $5,000, or five years' imprisonment, for bringing in women for prostitution; $1,000 fine for bringing in contract laborers; $1,000 fine for attempting to procure admission for anyone who was subject to exclusion; $100 fine on the steamship company for every immigrant denied admission, and $300 fine on the steamship company for each excluded immigrant denied transportation back. It also contained elaborate specifications as to the system of inspection, examination and detention of those waiting special examinations, and adequate provisions for the deportation of those excluded later.

By the Act of February, 1917, the famous literacy test over which there has been so much contention was added to the qualifications for entrance into this country. This provision had been previously passed by Congress a number of times, but had met with presidential vetoes at the hands of Cleveland, Taft, and Wilson. After it had been vetoed twice by President Wilson, the necessary two-thirds vote was obtained in Congress and it became a law. This act excludes from the United States all aliens over sixteen years of age who cannot read the English language or some other language or dialect. Provision is made, however, for the admission of an illiterate wife, father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, or unmarried or widowed daughter of an admissible alien. The father or grandfather must be at least fifty-five years of age, and

otherwise admissible. While a literacy test will not exclude criminals or vicious persons, it is hoped that it will stop a large part of the undesirable immigration. It will be unjust at times and may keep from our shore many who would make desirable citizens, but on the whole it will keep away a far greater number who would make undesirable additions. Some minor provisions were also included in this act.

A Further Check on Immigration.—During the last years of the War immigration was negligible, but with the dawn of peace it set in again so strongly, in 1920 and 1921,[5] that our government was compelled to adopt new restrictive measures. These took the form of a law enacted in May, 1921, stating that "the number of aliens of any nationality who may be admitted under the immigration laws of the United States in any fiscal year shall be limited to three per centum of the number of foreign-born persons of such nationality resident in the United States as determined by the United States census of 1910." Under this law the quota for the fiscal year 1921-1922 (twelve months) was 357,803; and this was further restricted to not over 20 per cent in any one calendar month.

This three per cent regulation did not apply to certain classes, such as government officials, their families and employees, tourists, travelers, children of citizens, who are under eighteen years of age, to immigrants from countries with which we had immigration treaties, and those who had resided five years or more in countries of North, Central and South America. It applied only to immigration from Europe, Siberia, Persia, Africa, Australia, New Zealand, what was formerly Asiatic Turkey and certain islands in the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The purpose of this act was to limit the immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. This it did in a marked degree. It did cause many hardships and many were deported because the quotas were filled; also there

[5] 1916, 298,826; 1917, 295,403; 1918, 110,618; 1919, 141,132; 1920, 430,001; 1921, 805,228.

were many exciting races between steamships in order to get their passengers in before the quotas were filled. This was a temporary measure enacted for one year, but was extended for two years more.

During this time the sentiment in the United States crystallized in a demand for still stricter limitation of immigration, and in the Act of May, 1924, Congress changed the basis of limitation from 3 per cent of the census of 1910 to 2 per cent of the census of 1890, thus cutting the number of immigrants permitted from 357,803 to 169,083. The bill carried a provision for the issuing of permits at the American consulates abroad, limiting the number of these to the quotas permitted, thus abolishing the racing of ships for priority and the consequent hardships enforced upon those immigrants who through no fault of their own arrived after the quotas from their countries had been filled. This bill also carried the clause, popularly known as the Japanese exclusion, which forbade entrance to immigrants who were ineligible for citizenship. This applied to practically all Asiatics but particularly affected the Japanese. While this law had very little effect upon the quotas of Great Britain, Germany and the Scandinavian countries, it cut still more deeply the quotas permitted Italy, Greece, Turkey, and the various Slavic countries, in some cases cutting them far below the actual number who were leaving the United States for those countries. While this restriction has met with the general approval of the American people this acceptance has not been unanimous. It met with violent opposition on the part of some of the politicians from the New England and the North Atlantic states. Also members of the Catholic and Jewish faiths felt that it was a direct discrimination against them.

This new bill defines an immigrant as any alien destined for the United States except (1) government officials, their families and employees, (2) aliens visiting the United States as tourists or temporarily for business or pleasure, (3) aliens in transit across the United States, (4) aliens who have been lawfully admitted but who in going from one part of the United States to another pass through for-

eign territory, and (5) bona fide alien seamen who seek to enter the United States temporarily and solely in pursuit of their calling.

Immigrants are also divided into *quota* and *non-quota* classes. *Non-quota* immigrants are (1) relatives of citizens of the United States, who are husbands, wives, children under eighteen years, or parents over fifty-five years, (2) resident aliens from temporary visits abroad, (3) aliens and their immediate families who have resided at least ten preceding years in Canada, Mexico, Cuba, Central and South America, (4) ministers or teachers who come to this country to pursue their calling, (5) skilled laborers not obtainable in the United States and authorized by the Secretary of Labor, and (6) bona fide students over eighteen years of age for admission to an accredited college or academy. A *quota* immigrant is any immigrant who is not a *non-quota* immigrant.

The five-year residence clause of the 1921 Law was abolished and only those who are born in those countries are exempted. Preference up to 50% of the quota is also given to relatives of citizens of the United States and those skilled in agriculture, except where the quota is less than 300. This act was passed as a temporary measure and extended only till April 1, 1927, when immigration was to be still further restricted to 150,000 to be determined according to racial origins.[5a]

The quota allotments according to the Acts of 1921 and 1924 are given in the table on the following page.

In addition to these restrictions, many laws have been passed, beginning as early as 1819, looking to protection of the immigrant, to prevention of overcrowding of vessels, to provision of sufficient air space and proper food, to protection against swindlers, etc. Some acts were even passed to encourage immigration. Not until 1882 did the Federal Government assume control of immigration, it having been previously left to the state of entry. Until that time no state had passed laws against immigration

[5a] This date was later postponed till April 1, 1928, and still later till April 1, 1929.

Country or Region of Birth	*Act of 1921*	*Act of 1924*
Albania	288	100
Armenia (in Russia)	230	124
Austria	7,342	785
Belgium	1,563	512
Bulgaria	302	100
Czechoslovakia	14,357	3,073
Danzig	301	228
Denmark	5,619	2,789
Esthonia	1,348	124
Finland	3,921	471
France	5,729	3,954
Germany	67,607	51,227
Great Britain, Ireland	77,342	34,007
Greece	3,063	100
Hungary	5,747	473
Iceland	75	100
Irish Free State[6]	....	28,567
Italy	42,057	3,845
Latvia	1,540	142
Lithuania	2,629	344
Luxemburg	92	100
Netherlands	3,607	1,648
Norway	12,202	6,453
Poland	30,977	5,982
Portugal	2,465	503
Rumania	7,419	603
Russia	24,405	2,248
Spain	912	131
Sweden	20,042	9 561
Switzerland	3,752	2,081
Yugoslavia	6,426	671
Palestine	57	100
Syria	882	100
Turkey	2,654	100
Australia	279	121
New Zealand, Pacific Islands	80	100
All others	492	3,100
Total	357,803	164,667

because it was not previously considered really detrimental; many states had passed laws encouraging it.

While the immigration regulations have been strictly enforced, in fact even cruelly at times, only a small percent are ever deported. Because of the heavy fines imposed for violation of the regulations, in addition to free transportation back to the point of embarkation, the steamship

[6] Included in Great Britain, Ireland in act of 1921.

companies have been forced to hold examinations on the other side of the ocean. While the consulates now examine immigrants, these examinations are preliminary and not final, yet only a few are rejected, 10,904 being deported in 1926, which was 1,409 more than in the previous year.

Then it must be remembered that quota immigrants are not all who are admitted. For the year ending June 30, 1926, a total of 496,106 immigrants was admitted, of whom only 157,432 were quota immigrants under the 1924 law, and 150,299 came from nations to whom the quota does not apply, principally Canada and Mexico. Those who have established a residence in this country are permitted to return. Then we must also remember that our total gain is merely the excess of immigration over emigration, and many return, either to visit or remain, 227,755 so departing in the year ending June 30, 1926. During the war we lost more than we received. Even now the immigration from some of the countries of Southern and Eastern Europe is less than the emigration of those nationalities already here.

We must also take into consideration the unlawful immigration, which has increased tremendously since our rigid restriction. While this number of course can never be determined it is now being estimated at not less than 100,000 a year. It includes those crossing our borders, especially from Mexico and those smuggled in from Canada, Cuba, and other countries; the sailors who desert in port, and those who come to visit but who remain and are lost in our population. The number of deserting sailors reported between 1911 and 1919 ranged from 3,388 to 9,136 a year but after the latter year the number greatly increased, almost reaching the 35,000 mark in 1924. How many of these later depart is never known. Thousands have been caught trying to enter illegally, many persons making a living from facilitating such entries, but often incidentally grossly deserting and cheating those whom they promise to take across the border.

Many serious criticisms have been made of our present policy of restriction. Some claim that it is unjust dis-

crimination against southern and eastern Europe; that these peoples are just as able and deserving as those of the north and west. Many regret that the United States has given up definitely her former policy of offering an asylum for the oppressed of all nations and groups. Many claim that it is emotional and is the result of propaganda and bigotry; that it is the outcome of such writings as those of Madison Grant and Lothrop Stoddard. Unquestionably it is the result of the idea of Nordic superiority and the general acceptance of the principle that those of northern and western Europe can be more easily and successfully assimilated because of greater similarity of physiques, customs, habits, standards and civilization. Whether this discrimination is just or even expedient is of course debatable, but this policy is undoubtedly in accordance with the wishes and opinion of the majority of American citizens. And it must be remembered that a nation has the right to say who shall enter its domain.

Some of our restrictions are harsh and at times not even beneficial. For instance, the contract labor restriction, adopted to eliminate serious abuses incident to the importation of contract laborers, has kept out the best as well as the worst for it deterred those holding good positions in Europe from giving them up for an uncertainty here. It has kept out such professionals as opera singers, teachers and musicians, till exceptions were made for them, but it still keeps out much skilled labor. Such hardships and mistakes are unavoidable, for no law is perfect. But while history can only tell how successful our present policy will be or how long we will adhere to it, we have made progress for we have at last settled upon a definite policy in regard to a problem which has been facing our country for nearly a century and which has at times loomed up as a serious menace to our civilization. Whether we have solved it successfully or made a mistake, only time can tell.

READING REFERENCES

Found at end of Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VIII

IMMIGRATION (*Continued*)

Effect of Immigration Upon the Population of the United States.—Between the years 1909 and 1920 the net increase of foreign born was 4,485,000, or nearly 375,000 per annum. In 1920 there were 13,712,754 foreign-born persons in the United States—13 per cent of the total population of 105,710,620. But if we include those born here of foreign and mixed parentage, we find the number considerably greater, amounting in that year to 36,398,958, or 34.4 per cent of the population. And we must consider those of foreign parentage, for very often, especially in our large cities, the children of the foreign-born create greater problems than do the immigrants themselves. Of course those of foreign birth or parentage are not evenly distributed over the country. The following figures show those states with the largest percentage of immigrants or their children according to the Census of 1920:

States	*Percentage Foreign Born*	*Percentage Foreign and Mixed Parentage*
Rhode Island	28.7	69.5
Massachusetts	28.0	66 8
Connecticut	27.3	65.3
New York	26.8	62.6
New Jersey	25.4	62.4
Minnesota	20.4	64.8
North Dakota	20.3	66.7
California	19.9	46.3
Michigan	19.8	52.6
Illinois	18.6	49.8
Wisconsin	17.5	59.4
Montana	17.1	47.2

Practically all the recent immigration went to ten states. And if we examine the figures for 1920 for the ten leading

cities of the United States, arranged in order of size, we shall see that they have contained the majority of this immigration, almost in the order of their size.

City	*Percentage Foreign Born*	*Percentage Foreign and Mixed Parentage*
New York	35.4	76.4
Chicago	29.8	72.0
Philadelphia	19.8	54.2
Detroit	29.2	64.2
Cleveland	31.0	70.0
St. Louis	12.4	44.4
Boston	31.9	73.3
Baltimore	11.4	33.6
Pittsburgh	19.1	56.7
Los Angeles	19.4	43.8

A few of the smaller cities show even higher ratios than some of the above, such as:

Providence	32.6	72.5
Newark	28.2	68.4

New York is said to have the largest German population of any city in the world after Berlin; the largest Italian population after Naples; the largest Irish population with no exception; and by far the largest Jewish population.

Not only have our immigrants gone to certain localities, but each nationality has had its own particular place or places in which to settle. The Germans have had two favorite regions—New York and Pennsylvania in the East, and Wisconsin and Illinois in the West. Many have gone to other localities, but even there they generally have settled in colonies. The Scandinavians have gone to Minnesota and the Dakotas. The Italians have remained in the East, in New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and Connecticut. In 1910 three-fourths, or 997,000 of the 1,343,000 immigrants born in Italy, were living in those states and in Illinois. While the Jews come from all countries and from all kinds of communities, they nearly always have gone to the cities, especially to New York; 93,000 out of 149,000 who came in 1907 settled in

New York State. Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Illinois have received the Slavs in the order given. This flocking to our cities which were already overcrowded has been one of the serious aspects of immigration. If the newcomers had gone to the rural regions we could easily have absorbed them. In the large cities they live in the most thickly settled districts where they meet only those of their own nationality, or at best immigrants of other nationalities, and seldom come into close contact with the native American; so it is very difficult for us to assimilate them. This is especially true when there is little necessity or incentive for learning the English language—to say nothing of acquiring our customs and habits. Here also they easily have fallen below the poverty line and the more easily have sunk into vice and crime, especially in the second generation. The European immigrant has not gone to the South because of the competition of the Negro.

Effect of Immigration Upon Industry.—The bulk of our immigrants are unskilled laborers. Even if they had some degree of skill in their native country, that skill very often is of no avail to them here because of the different methods of production. Of the 857,721 immigrants coming in 1921, only 14,592 belonged to the professional classes, and only 131,774—or about 15 per cent—were skilled workmen. The percentage differs greatly, moreover, with the nationalities, many of the Jews and Bohemians being as well trained as those coming from the nations of Northern Europe. But of the 242,000 coming from Southern Italy in 1907, only 701 were skilled; of the 138,000 Poles only 273 had trades. This invasion furnished the capitalist with a large supply of cheap labor and consequently boomed industry, especially industries which needed unskilled labor, such as the steel, woolen and cotton mills. It made big corporations and trusts possible in such lines of industry. The railroads would have been handicapped without this mass of labor to draw upon. Many additions and improvements would not have been made, for native labor would have been too expensive.

In short, immigration has been a boon to the capitalist and made it possible for him to pile up his millions. While the immigrant forms only one-seventh of our total population, he makes up one-half of the number of people engaged in manufacturing; one-fourth of those in transportation; one-fourth of those in mining, and one-fourth of those in domestic service.

Where the immigrant has entered an industry he has supplanted the native workers, but this has not been altogether bad, for it has forced the natives up in the scale. Then again the older races, as soon as they acquire American standards, are in turn forced out by later arrivals. Some illustrations of this are of interest. The manufacture of collars and cuffs was carried on formerly by the Irish; they were supplanted by the Poles, who in turn gave way to the Armenians. In the manufacture of woolens, worsteds, and underwear, the Irish and English were displaced by the Poles and Italians. In the production of cotton goods the English-speaking races were pushed aside by the Italians and Poles. In the manufacture of men's and women's clothing the Germans were supplanted by the Russians and Italians. In the paper industry the Germans, English, and Irish were eliminated by Russians and Poles. In the production of gas and electric fixtures the Italians and Russians supplanted the Germans. In the rope industry the Irish were pushed aside by the Swedes, who in turn gave way to the Italians. An especially good illustration of this process can be observed in the cotton textile industry of New England. This industry was begun by the sons and daughters of American families, direct descendants of the founders of this nation. Their places were taken by the Irish, but the Irish were forced to give way to the French Canadians. Later the French Canadians were being forced out by the Portuguese, Greeks, Syrians, Poles and Italians. The tailors in New York formerly were English and Scotch, then Irish and Germans, next Russian Jews; but now the Jews are being driven out by the Italians. It is the same in Boston, only there the

Portuguese take a hand. In Chicago the problem is very similar, except that the addition of Poles and Bohemians lends variety to the mixture. "As soon as a race rises in the scale of living, and through organization begins to demand higher wages and resist the pressure of long hours and overexertion, the employers substitute another race and the process is repeated." [1]

While immigration has helped to build up the United States industrially, it has brought about other conditions which are not so satisfactory. The enormous wealth produced by their labor has not gone to pay higher wages, provide better dwellings for the workers, or even to provide better streets and other improvements for the manufacturing towns; instead they have gone into the pockets of the stockholders. It has gone to pay dividends on stock, much of which consists of water, and to pay large salaries to managers. President Wood of the American Woolen Company was said to be receiving a salary of $50,000 at the time of the Lawrence strike in the winter of 1911–12, at which time the average wage in his mills was under six dollars a week; some workers receiving as low as three dollars a week.

Effect of Immigration Upon Labor.—While immigration has been a distinct aid to the capitalist, it has been an equally distinct detriment to the laborer. The influx of such a great mass of labor, especially unskilled, in such a short time and in such limited districts, has upset the balance of supply and demand. Wages are fixed, not by the productivity of labor in actual life, but by the supply of labor coupled with its bargaining power. Productivity of labor only sets its upper limit, one above which wages cannot go; the actual wage paid is often far below it. Hence immigration has kept the wages of American workmen from advancing as rapidly as they otherwise would have done, for, while the immigrant has come to this country to make a fortune, and wants the highest wage possible, he is not in a position to demand

[1] Commons, John R. *Races and Immigrants in America*, p. 152, 1920 (Macmillan).

it. Wages are not paid according to the desire or need of the worker but rather to the contrary; if one needs a high wage, that need will count against him if he attempts to get it. One's necessity decreases one's power of resistance and lowers the bargaining position. The employer pays as small a wage as possible, and since the immigrant has little money and must take any work he can get, he cannot haggle over higher wages.

Immigrant labor is unorganized and is not able to present a solid front against capital; the immigrant bargains only as an individual. The employer does not care whether a certain man or some one else has the job; so there is no opportunity for argument—the immigrant has to take what is offered. Thus being ignorant not only of our customs, habits and language, but also of our prices, he thinks the wage offered to him the best obtainable. Because of his ignorance the more recent immigrant is hard to organize into the unions. Besides, as soon as one class or race reached the state where they were able to organize, the employers saw to it that their place was taken by newer arrivals. This has been satisfactory to the employer but not favorable to the worker, for it has kept wages down.

The same lack of funds that prevented advantageous bargaining in the city kept the immigrant from going to the rural districts, for he had no money with which to buy land or stock a farm. Then too the farmer, suspicious of him because of his difference in speech, habits, and customs, and disliking his unpresentable appearance, has not wanted him as a laborer. Hence he has been forced into the industries in the already overcrowded centers, where he is desired by the employer because of his willingness to be driven at a hard pace and his submission to longer hours than the American will tolerate. He will also do more dangerous work, especially in the mines, entering dangerous drifts and working under conditions which his predecessor would not endure. This is especially true of the Slav. It is partially owing to his ignorance of the actual danger and of the fact that he

is working longer hours than other people. In this way advantage is always taken of him by the employer.

It is sometimes given as an argument against immigration that the immigrants send vast quantities of money back to Europe. In 1907 they sent back $275,000,000. But we must recognize the fact that Europe produced these immigrants and that it would have cost us at least $1000 each to bring them to manhood. As we received that same year (1907) over a million and a quarter of immigrants, worth to America as economic machines at least $1,000,000,000, there was left to our credit a balance of $725,000,000—a very profitable transaction.

Social Effects of Immigration.—*Standard of Living.*—In our study of the different nationalities which make up our immigrant population we noticed that each nationality brought with it the standard of living of the country from which it came. This was particularly emphasized in regard to their ideas of wages and the necessities of life—in other words, their standards of income and expenditure. We found that the immigrant has been detrimental to the native American workman because he was able and willing to live on a lower economic plane. He has been contented with earning less and desirous of spending less. This standard of living applies not only to the quality of food, raiment, and shelter, but also to ethical and moral standards.

While the economic standard affects the whole of life to a greater or less degree, there are perhaps other standards fully as important. The immigrant brings with him different ideas in regard to woman's position. She is looked upon as an inferior, and among many races is treated merely as a drudge. This is particularly true of the Poles; their women expect to be beaten by their husbands; in fact, they sometimes consider it strange if their husbands do not beat them. After the newcomers live in the United States some time they change their ideas, of course; but the Poles have at times got into trouble with the police for beating their wives. The Germans have a low estimate of woman, considering that

it is her place to wait upon the man. The Italian treats his wife very well although he will allow her to work in the fields with him or to go into industry till the household finances improve; but as soon as this improvement takes place she leaves the field and factory.

The immigrant has different ideas likewise in regard to education. Many of the new arrivals look upon compulsory education as a nuisance, and send their children to school only when compelled to do so. They think of children not as liabilities but as assets, and generally regard education as a necessary evil because it reduces the immediate possible earnings of the family. As soon as the child reaches the age limit for compulsory attendance, he is taken from school, seldom being left to finish the term. This desire to increase the earnings leads to child labor and fraudulent methods of obtaining working permits, and to other methods of dodging the school or child labor laws. The second generation, however, feel the need of an education. They generally see to it that their children attend school.

The immigrant, especially the French, German, and Russian, brings with him ideas of sexual morality that differ from the American point of view. Moral codes are not so strict in Europe as in the United States; there is, in many countries, state regulation of vice, and prostitution is looked upon as a profession which is strictly within the pale of the law. This has had a damaging effect upon our own standards. Our brothels have been filled to a great extent by immigrant women, of whom many have been imported for the purpose and others enticed or forced into them after arrival here. The immigrant woman is ignorant of our customs and is an easy victim. In Europe prostitutes are examined and to some extent remain free from disease, but in this country there has been no examination and because of this fact the immigrants scatter the venereal diseases more than they did in their native country. The immigrant has been compelled by economic conditions to live in close proximity to the red-light districts in our large cities, and has thus

been exposed to greater temptation and has run a greater danger of contracting disease. The effect has been especially damaging upon the second generation.

Many of the immigrants have brought with them habits of drinking. The Irish have a fondness for whiskey, as have also the Poles. The growth of the brewing industry and the tremendous increase in beer drinking were caused chiefly by German immigration. Among these peoples the saloon-keeper, in ante-prohibition days, held a position of social prestige, much the same as that held among the early Puritans by the tavern-keeper.

The matter of Sabbath observance offers another instance of difference in standards. The immigrant has come from a country where little observance of the Sabbath is practised, and this fact has undoubtedly had a great deal to do with the decline in the observance of the Sabbath among us. Now what has been the result of thus bringing together peoples with two entirely different standards? While it has raised the standard of the immigrant and lifted the average, it has unquestionably lowered our own standard. Moreover, the immigrant has been thrown among the lowest classes of Americans, and thereby has not come into contact with our highest and best standards; so often our effect upon him has not been salutary.

Crime.—It is often stated that immigration has increased crime and has helped to fill our prisons and penitentiaries; but statistics do not prove this, at least not to a degree at all alarming. The Special Prison Census of 1904 shows that at that time 23.7 per cent of the male white prisoners in the United States were foreign-born and that 23 per cent of the general male white population over fifteen years of age were foreign-born. In 1910 the percentage of the male white prisoners was 22.3, while that of our immigrant population had slightly increased. The percentage of commitments was larger, amounting in 1910 to 26.1 of the male white prison population. The reason for this was the larger number of minor offenses, like drunkenness, or disorderly conduct, committed by the immigrant. On

January 1, 1923, according to the Census of Prisoners, the foreign born made up 20.65% of the male white prisoners and 25.1% of the commitments between January 1 and June 30 of that year. When the comparison is limited to male whites 15 years of age and over the commitments for that year were 878 per 100,000 population for the foreign born, as compared with 703.2 per 100,000 for the native. When we consider that crime is committed by men in the prime of life, and that the immigrant is away from home, often completely separated from all home ties, and necessarily passing through a crisis in his life career, and that, in addition, he is thrown into our worst environment, we must admit that the showing is far from alarming. Statistics for those of foreign parentage are not so favorable, thus reflecting upon our influence upon the immigrant. Since the children of the immigrants are often reared in our worst slums under inadequate control of their parents, this condition can be easily explained. The parents are away working all day—the mother frequently as well as the father—and the children are left to shift for themselves. Even when the parents are at home, the children frequently look down upon them because of their ignorance and uncouth appearance. The children can speak English; the parents often never learn it; because of this difference the child is more advanced in many ways than the parent, and so instead of respecting the father and mother the child often despises them. Having as a consequence no guide in life, the child easily drifts into the habits of those around him.

Some races are much more addicted to crime than others. The Irish lead all nationalities. In 1910 they made up 10.1 per cent of the foreign-born population, yet they furnished 26.9 per cent of their crimes. These crimes were mostly of a petty nature, particularly drunkenness and disorderly conduct. The Italians, on the contrary, commit the serious offenses, leading all nationalities in assaults. In 1904 14.4 per cent of the major offenders in the United States were Italians, while the Italians made up but 4.7 per cent of our population. In New York City

26.9 per cent of those convicted of crimes of personal violence in 1907-8 were Italians, although the Italians made up only 7 per cent of the population of the city. Yet the general crime rate of the Italians is not at all serious, the commitments in 1923 being only 201.8 per 100,000 population as opposed to 697.5 per 100,000 for the Finns, who led the list, followed by the Mexicans with 612.9, the Irish with 405.8, the Austrians with 317.7, the Greeks with 296.1, the Norwegians with 293.2, the Swedes with 287.6 and the Poles with 274.8. The Black Hand at one time was a serious problem with the Italians. Slavs, especially the Poles, are inclined to crimes of personal violence, particularly when under the influence of liquor. But after all, considering the facts that the immigrant is in a new country; that he is ignorant of the laws, which are different from the ones to which he has been accustomed; that he is often cut loose from all home ties; and that he has an unequal chance in court, being before an unsympathetic judge and having little chance for defense, and so being more liable to conviction, it cannot be proved that the immigrant is criminal in tendency.

Illiteracy.—Immigration has contributed largely to the illiteracy situation in the United States, especially in the Northern States. Of the 4,931,905 illiterates in the United States in 1920, 1,242,572 were native whites, 1,763,740 were foreign-born, and 1,842,161 Negroes. In the Southern States illiteracy is increased largely because of the Negro, but in the North it is almost wholly caused by immigration, as shown in table on p. 117. According to the 1920 census, 11 per cent of the foreign-born white population in the United States, ten years of age or older, cannot speak English, as compared with 22.8 per cent in 1910. The more important reasons for the decrease are probably the result of our effort since the war to prepare immigrants for citizenship, and the effects of the literacy test in rejecting those least likely to learn our language.

The children of immigrants learn our language; the grandchildren of these immigrants are on a par with children of native ancestry. We find that where the per-

ILLITERATES IN THE NATIVE WHITE, FOREIGN-BORN WHITE, AND NEGRO POPULATION 10 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS AND STATES: 1920

Division and State	NATIVE WHITE			FOREIGN-BORN WHITE			NEGRO		
	Total	Illiterate		Total	Illiterate		Total	Illiterate	
		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent		Number	Per Cent
Cont. U. S...	60,861,863	1,242,572	2.0	13,497,886	1,763,740	13.1	8,053,225	1,842,161	22.9
Geog. Div.:									
New Eng..	4,032,543	26,944	0.7	1,843,028	257,207	14.0	65,271	4,607	7.1
Mid. Atl...	12,288,171	76,972	0.6	4,853,256	760,010	15.7	508,031	25,587	5.0
E. N. C...	13,489,259	117,183	0.9	3,183,790	342,832	10.8	440,129	32,052	7.3
W. N. C...	8,264,235	74,632	0.9	1,358,323	86,760	6.4	237,277	24,887	10.5
So. Atl....	6,968,881	356,785	5.1	311,385	339,757	12.8	3,221,694	812,842	25.2
E. S. C....	4,679,596	301,651	6.4	71,211	6,457	9.1	1,924,714	536,583	27.9
W. S. C...	5,678,412	234,429	4.1	430,053	128,725	29.9	1,587,020	402,233	25.3
Mountain..	2,031,346	40,860	2.0	436,304	55,422	12.7	27,741	1,457	5.3
Pacific....	3,429,420	13,116	0.4	1,010,536	86,570	8.6	41,348	1,913	4.6

centage of illiteracy among immigrants is high, the amount of money brought in is low. We find illiteracy much greater among females than among males, owing to the position of woman in Europe. Women acquire our language much more slowly than men, owing to the fact that men mingle more with Americans and are thus compelled to learn the language. This is noticed in the Southwest where most of the Mexican men can speak English—at least enough to be understood—and few women can either speak or understand any English.[2] Illiteracy is really quite a serious problem, for it makes assimilation difficult. If an immigrant can read and write his own language it is much easier to learn our language; if he cannot, learning our language is a laborious, if not impossible, task. If an immigrant never learns to read or write English, the newspapers, mazagines, and books never appeal to him; thus the channels of approach are nearly all closed and it is very difficult to teach such an immigrant our customs and habits, to say nothing of our ideals and standards of living. These are the reasons why a literacy test was so strongly urged and a law requiring it finally passed, in spite of the vetoes of our chief executives.

Poverty.—Since the immigrant comes to America in the prime of life, when he is at his greatest earning capacity, and since he is usually single, we should expect few paupers among them, other things being equal. On the other hand, the immigrant is handicapped by ignorance, especially of our language, and so is often in need of temporary assistance. Because he is at the bottom of the ladder economically, if he fails to get work, or loses his position after he gets one, he is in a bad situation and has to fall back upon public or private charity. If he has a family, he is badly handicapped, and even if he is working he finds it exceedingly difficult to support his family because of our high prices and because of the low wages which he,

[2] This condition is not only true of the Mexican immigrant but to a large extent of the native Spanish-American element in that section of the United States.

as a result of his ignorance and lack of skill, is forced to accept.

In 1907-8, according to the report of the Commissioner of Immigration, out of 288,395 inmates of our charitable institutions in the United States, 60,025 were foreign-born —about 21 per cent. Yet the foreign-born make up but 15 per cent of our population. In New York the percentage was not so high, being only 10.4 per cent for inmates of charitable institutions, while the foreign born made up more than 25 per cent of the population of the state. These figures are not at all bad but they do not reveal the real problem by any means. Many of our immigrants, who never apply for public aid, are in desperate financial condition. Often their children are sent to school without any food, or at best with insufficient food to permit the carrying on of successful school work. It has been estimated at various times that from 25 per cent to 30 per cent of the school children in such cities as New York and Chicago have insufficient food to keep up vitality to a point that will enable them to do their school work in a satisfactory manner, and an undue percentage of these are children of the foreign-born. Often both parents are away working, and the child gets either no lunch or an insufficient one. This condition is more serious than adult poverty, for it means a stunted and enfeeblēd second generation. It is like the problem of crime in one respect: it is the second generation that slumps. Being thrown upon the streets, the children lose their independence and do not have the energy and thrift of their parents; they feel less responsibility for making both ends meet. They also become stunted and degenerate physically because of their surroundings, the lack of nutritious food, the absence of fresh air, and the want of healthful conditions in general.

These conditions have been caused by the ignorance and poverty of their parents, who live in the worst tenements in the cities, shut their windows at night, and crowd together in a shocking fashion. Since the second generation is physically unfit and lacking in moral stamina, it is quite

ready to fall back upon charity. This is a problem that can be dealt with; it can be largely eliminated by proper building codes, which forbid the erection and use of tenements that do not allow fresh air, by proper inspection in regard to overcrowding, and by greater attention to the physical welfare of the children. Proper child-labor legislation and its enforcement will eliminate much of this trouble. A minimum wage will enable the parents to earn more and thus provide better food, clothing and shelter. The condition that now exists is largely the fault of our civilization rather than of the immigrant.

However, with the change in immigration from Northern to Southern Europe, we do find a difference in the attitude towards the receipt of help. We find that the Italians, especially those from southern Italy, and particularly those from Naples, expect help to a certain extent. They hear of our methods of dispensing charity and come here with an expectancy of receiving aid. Upon arrival they quickly learn of the institutions and associations that aid in poor relief. Whereas in former days the immigrants expected to carve out their destinies by their own efforts, the newer ones are not so strongly imbued with this sentiment. On the whole, the pauperism of the immigrant has been greatly exaggerated; but the poverty situation, bringing with it a degenerating effect upon the second generation, probably has been minimized.

Miscellaneous Social Effects.—The decay of religious sentiment with its resulting disregard for the Sabbath has already been mentioned. Another thing to be noticed is the change in the religious faith, with the change of the source of immigration, from the Protestant to the Catholic. Our recent immigrants have come almost entirely from Catholic countries. This in itself is no problem although we find the Catholic Church on the whole more conservative than the Protestant and opposing many of our reforms. Its adherents have a much lower regard for woman than Protestants have. The Catholic Church as a rule encourages large families in order to increase the number of adherents; but generally these large families come in the classes that

are least able to care for them and so tend to increase poverty. On the other hand the Catholic Church has a splendid organization for poor relief.

The problem of educating the immigrant has already been touched upon, especially the reluctance of immigrants to send their children to school, and their practice of taking their children from school as soon as the law will allow. Another phase of this problem is the difficulty of adapting instruction to the child while he is in school. He is not familiar with our conditions, traditions and history; so the teacher finds great difficulty in linking the teachings of the school to the home life of the child. The teachers are usually women, and because the immigrant has a low regard for woman, the child of the immigrant has little respect for the teacher. On the whole, the immigrant child is a serious problem. The problem is further complicated by the fact that poor nutrition, insufficient clothing, and inadequate sanitation make the immigrant child unfit physically to respond to the efforts of the teacher.

Immigration has upset the proportion of the sexes. For a considerable number of years about two-thirds of the immigrants were males; in 1917 the numbers were 929,976 males and 355,373 females. More men than women return to Europe, and in 1920 there were 7,528,322 foreign-born white males as against 6,184,432 females. This has been the principal cause for the existing plurality of males in the United States, there being 106 males to 100 females in 1910 and 104 males to 100 females in 1920.

It is only natural that we should find immigration causing a social disturbance, for the introduction of any new element brings about maladjustments in any society; it is to be expected that difficulties of assimilation should be encountered. If immigration is well distributed, assimilation is accelerated; but if the immigrants settle in communities where they are more or less isolated and where they are not compelled to come into contact with the natives, assimilation is much more difficult and of course is greatly retarded.

Political Effects of Immigration.—The immigrant of

yesterday has to a great extent become the citizen of to-day; the immigrant of to-day will to a great extent become the citizen of to-morrow. In 1920, of the 6,928,452 foreign-born white males twenty-one years of age and older, 47.8 per cent were naturalized and 16.1 per cent had taken out their first papers. Of the 5,570,268 foreign-born white females of the same age 52 per cent were naturalized and 1.4 per cent had taken out first papers.[3] In the total white population twenty-one years of age or over 22.7 per cent were immigrants and 11.3 per cent naturalized immigrants in 1920. Thus in the white population of voting age there were 148 naturalized immigrants to every 1000 natives. The proportion of those becoming naturalized varies greatly according to the nationality, ranging from 74.4 per cent among the Welsh to 5.5 per cent among the Mexicans. For the five countries furnishing the largest number of immigrants, the percentages naturalized were as follows: Germany 73.6; Ireland 66.1; Russia 42.1; Italy 29.6; and Poland 28.9. In general all Northern European countries rank high, Slavic nations medium, and those from Southern Europe low. The danger lies in the fact that when the immigrant becomes a citizen, not having behind him the traditions of the native, he does not realize the value of the ballot. This, coupled with his ignorance of American political methods, makes him an easy mark for the ward politician and the party boss. He was in the past to a great extent under the control of the saloon-keeper.

The ballot too often is simply the means of adding to his income, as is expressed in a letter of the Italian writing to his friend in Palermo, referred to by Professor Ross:[4] "Come over here quick, Luigi, this is a wonderful country.

[3] The reason for the differences here is due to the ruling that the wife of a naturalized voter is also classed as naturalized, while the wife of one who has only taken out first papers is still classed as an alien. For an unmarried female the process of naturalization is the same as for a man. A widow or divorced wife retains the status of her former condition but if still an alien can become naturalized in the same manner as a man.

[4] *Century Magazine*, January, 1914.

You can do anything you want to, and besides they give you a vote you can get two dollars for.'' This is one reason why such political machines as Tammany in New York and Thompson's organization in Chicago are able to control the vote of the naturalized citizens and to swing this vote in any way they wish. While cities with a low percentage of immigrants have in many cases as corrupt governments as some which have a much higher percentage, the immigrant vote is not so intelligent as the native vote and therefore can be exploited more readily.

Some nationalities have a fondness for politics; this is especially true of the Irish, who are our leading politicians, and who swing the vote of their nationality almost as a body. For the past twenty-five or thirty years it has been almost impossible in Boston to elect a mayor or in fact almost any other official who was not Irish, or of Irish sympathies. The Poles in Chicago resemble the Irish in Boston in their political methods, though they are not so powerful. The immigrant does not concern himself much over our issues or principles, but votes rather for his friends; such machines as Tammany control him because they see to it that he is befriended when in need. While by no means alarming, the immigrant has formed a somewhat dangerous element in politics, but with the restriction of immigration this danger is gradually disappearing.

Other Effects of Immigration.—The effects just enumerated are by no means all. One effect which must not be omitted is the esthetic or artistic contribution to our civilization. This has come in with the Southern European, especially the Italian. The Anglo-Saxon in general is not highly endowed in an esthetic sense. In our treatment of Italian immigration we mentioned their contribution in the way of musicians, opera singers and artists. To this must be added the growing appreciation of art and music in this country, which is to a great extent the result of the coming in of this new element in our population. While the immigrant population in general has furnished the most appreciative and intelligent parts of our audiences at our grand opera and musical performances the occupants of the more

expensive seats are slowly learning to appreciate good music and we now appear to be on the road towards making up this past deficiency in our civilization. While part of this is the result of greater leisure time due to the accumulation of capital and the development of our country, another part is no less the direct result of the immigration of more artistic and musical people.

Effect of Our Civilization Upon the Immigrant.—The effect of our own civilization upon the immigrant is a phase of the problem which is generally neglected or forgotten. We have been too prone to assume that the effect of our civilization has always been good; that the only problem was for the immigrant to become Americanized, whereupon the whole question would be solved. But our contribution to the culture of the immigrant has not always been good; in fact, it has often been detrimental. As we have already shown, we have neglected and to a certain extent ostracized the immigrant. We have forced him to live in our slums, paid him the lowest wages we could, made money from his labor, called him all sorts of uncomplimentary names—in fact, have taken advantage of him in almost every conceivable way. We have even given him scant justice in our courts. The best educated and most cultured elements in our population have seldom come into contact with the immigrant; so we have often given him a wrong impression of our civilization, namely, that we are not only a nation of money-grabbers but that we have not very good habits. It is no wonder, therefore, that the second generation of immigrant stock has furnished an undue proportion of criminals and other undesirables. We have been able to raise the economic standard of living of the immigrant, although there are instances where he has been forced to live on a lower standard than he was accustomed to in Europe, but we have often lowered his standards of honesty, morality, truthfulness, reliability and respect for law and government. Thus we have often injured the immigrant and in doing so have injured our own civilization. We are now awake to this situation.

If we had realized our social responsibility and really

tried to be of service to the immigrant, instead of trying to get all we could out of him, the result would unquestionably have been different. In general, the immigrant has come to this country from worthy motives and was in the right frame of mind to respond to just and considerate treatment, for he had learned to look to America as a haven of refuge for the oppressed and the home of liberty and justice. Unfortunately he has all too often been disillusioned. If we are now fully awake to this problem and are willing to be of service to our future citizens the future will have a different story to tell.

Arguments for restriction rest upon the following considerations:

1. *Industrial.*—Whether or not we consider immigration a benefit here depends largely upon whether we are capitalists or laborers. From the standpoint of the employer of labor, immigration is a great benefit, for it furnishes an abundance of cheap labor, and labor which is easily controlled. This facilitates the development of great industrial concerns and big business in general. It makes possible the development of new industries—industries which might not otherwise be built up. From the standpoint of labor, immigration is decidedly injurious, because it upsets the balance of supply and demand by increasing the supply of labor without a corresponding increase in the demand for it, and consequently keeps wages from increasing as rapidly as they otherwise would. It causes unemployment, resulting in poverty and suffering. When immigration was checked in 1915 by the World War, the unemployment problem in the United States ceased to exist, for as soon as business adjusted itself to new conditions there was comparatively little unemployment. While immigration usually has forced the native worker up in the industrial struggle, it has sometimes kept him down.

2. *Political.*—Whether the addition to our voting population will bring new blood into our political life, or whether it will form an element which will undermine our institutions, is the question from the political standpoint. The naturalized voter does not have back of him that which

the native voter has and does not look upon the ballot in the same way; hence he is more easily controlled by corrupt party machines. This condition is the most serious in the larger cities, although probably not nearly so dangerous as it is sometimes pictured. Often coming from a country where he has had no experience in popular government, the immigrant is much less capable of using the ballot than the native, even if his ideals and motives be as high.

3. *Social.*—Socially the problem is whether immigration is detrimental to our social life—whether it adulterates our ideas of morality, increases crime, adds to the numbers of our dependent classes, and lowers our standard of living. The introduction of any new element necessarily causes confusion, and if the newer element is a decidedly lower one and insists on remaining compact, then the problem is complicated. Earlier immigration was assimilated without much difficulty; but recent immigration has been entirely different. Then, too, our facilities for assimilation have changed; our cheap land is gone, and we are becoming an industrial rather than an agricultural country. To assimilate the new immigration requires hard work; the problem will not solve itself. The present problems are as much our making as that of the immigrant. When we realize this fact and set ourselves systematically to the task of making citizens out of the immigrants, then we can hope for better results. It will require the co-operation of our schools, churches, the Y. M. C. A., settlements, and in fact all our social organizations to achieve.

4. *Biological.*—Whether the infusion of new blood will be for the advantage or disadvantage of our race biologically is an unsettled question. A mongrel race is ordinarily considered superior to a thoroughbred race, provided, of course, that the mongrel race is made up of the best blood of the several races. If it is made up of the left-overs, of the degenerates of several races, then the result will be poorer than any of the races taken singly. Have we received the best blood or the poorest? If we get the best blood of Italy, Austria, and the Slavic countries, that best may not be inferior to the blood of the American, which comes from the

finest blood of northern Europe. So the intermingling of the races from southern Europe may not be bad, if we receive their strongest elements.

Future Policy.—The war caused many Americans to change their attitude towards immigration, at least there has developed a general awakening to the gravity of the problem and a desire for a policy of greater restriction of immigration. There has always been opposition to immigration by individuals and classes, like the labor unions. Some have urged restriction from sound motives, such as the too rapid filling up of America and the taking up of our desirable land, but most of the opposition has been because of personal or class reasons, rather than because of the realization of any great national or social danger.

The war showed that our "melting pot" had not always produced the type of American citizens that we had imagined. When our draft law became operative we found thousands of men in our training camps who could neither read nor understand English and who knew nothing of American ideals. Not only did they not know the causes and objects of the war but many did not even know that there was a war. While our settlement workers and students of sociology knew that such conditions existed the general public was not aware of it. This caused many to conclude that immigration must be further restricted.

In addition the war upset our economic and industrial organization and we found out that immigration only increased the problem. This was especially true in regard to unemployment. Since the war there have been from three to five million workers unemployed at times, and if we permit more laborers to come into the country they will merely add to the number of those out of work.

Not only are we interested in the quantity of immigration, but the quality is being more seriously considered. We have for some time questioned the desirability of immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe, but this is being more seriously considered since nearly all of the present immigrants are coming from those sections. After the war was over, immigration began again with a rush. Congress

realized the seriousness of the situation and enacted laws providing for the drastic restriction of immigration.

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CHAPTER IX

URBAN MIGRATION

A social phenomenon almost as old as the history of civilization itself is the movement of peoples from the country to the city. The first recorded movements were in the two great centers of civilization, the valleys of the Nile and the Tigris-Euphrates, in both of which sprang up cities of importance. Similar centers of population developed in the rich river valleys of India and China. These places were thickly settled because of their ability to support large populations. As a result of these populations trade and commerce and trade centers developed. These in turn drew still larger populations. But the city of ancient times was primarily a military stronghold or a place of worship, and therefore an elevated position or a place for some other reason difficult of access was chosen for the purpose of protection. Jerusalem, Athens, Tyre, and Rome are examples. If there were no such inaccessible place at hand, great walls were constructed for protection, as in the case of Babylon and Nineveh.

During the Middle Ages, under feudalism, when each baron held his land by force of arms, castles were built upon rocky heights. Armed bands defended these castles and over-awed the surrounding territory. Around them people settled for the sake of protection—other people than the knights, retainers, and vassals of the baron; as a result cities sprang up. Europe is full of such castles and cities. Also during the Middle Ages cities arose along trade routes, as on the Danube, for the purpose of commerce, which became trade and commercial centers. Such cities as Budapest, Vienna, Munich, Frankfort, Cologne, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Ghent, Hamburg, Bremen, and the Italian cities of Florence, Genoa, Pisa,

and Venice are of this type. The city of the modern type is chiefly an industrial or commercial center, which did not flourish to any appreciable extent until the industrial revolution. Thus the present-day city is a product of industrial development. The great cities of Europe have had their most rapid growth since the industrial revolution, although their history goes back many centuries before that time. The amount of such increase during the nineteenth century is shown by the following table:

City	*Population 1800*	*Population 1901*
London	864,000	4,536,000[1]
Paris	547,000	2,714,000
Berlin	172,000	1,888,000
Vienna	232,000	1,674,000

The great increase in urban population as compared with rural growth did not manifest itself so early in the United States as in Europe, because the United States remained longer an agricultural country. Towards the close of the nineteenth century we awoke to a realization of this tendency, and many students of the question have become alarmed over it; in fact, some even call it our most serious social problem to-day. This alarm over urban migration is by no means a new thing in history; it is merely new with us because we are a young nation. Xenophon in his time bewailed a similar movement and predicted calamity; Varro did the same; and at different times European statesmen, especially those of France, have been aroused by the same phenomenon. Yet the fact that similar movements and consequent fears have existed heretofore does not minimize the fact that this migration is a very serious matter for the United States.

In 1800 there were in the United States only six cities with a population of over 8000, and they contained only 4 per cent of the population of the country. In 1900 there were 547 such cities, and they contained 32.9 per cent of the country's population; and in 1920 the figures had increased to 924 and 43.8 per cent respectively.

[1] Greater London 6,581,000.

While the rural population increased only 5.8 per cent from 1900 to 1910, the urban population had increased 34.8 per cent.[2] According to the 1920 census, our cities are increasing in population seven and a half times as fast as the rural districts. The urban population increased during the previous decade 25.2 per cent, while the rural increase was 3.4 per cent. More than one-half of our entire population (51.4 per cent of the 105,710,620 persons enumerated) live in towns and cities having a population of over 2500. One thing which adds to the seriousness of the problem is the fact that this increase is not distributed over the entire country, but is confined largely to a few sections of the country, especially the New England and Middle Atlantic states, which are already overcrowded, and the North Central states, which in the past have been chiefly agricultural—in fact, our leading agricultural states —but are now becoming urban.

The 1920 census revealed the following ratios of urban population: Rhode Island 97.5; Massachusetts 94.8; New York 82.7; and New Jersey 78.4. In comparison with these the most urban of European countries before the World War revealed the following: England and Wales 78.0; Scotland 77.0; Germany 57.4; France 41.0; and Holland 40.5.

We do not usually look upon the United States as thickly populated, and as a nation it is not; yet there are a few sections, such as Rhode Island, which are more thickly populated than almost any other political division in the world. In 1920 Rhode Island had 566.4 persons per square mile, Massachusetts followed with 479.2 and New Jersey with 420, while the District of Columbia had 7,292.9. To get some idea of the growth of cities one has only to travel by train from Boston to Washington, D. C., by way of Providence, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore, where for 500 miles there is a never-ending chain of cities; in fact, it is difficult at times to tell where one city ends and the next one begins.

[2] Places of 2500 or over are classed here by the United States Census Bureau as urban.

Between 1910 and 1920, Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, New York, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Mississippi, Missouri, Kansas, and Nevada actually decreased in rural population.

Causes of Urban Migration.—The following are perhaps the leading causes of urban migration:

1. *Rapid Industrial Growth of the Country.*—The modern city is largely the product of industry. The establishment of industries has created an increased demand for labor, and as a result laborers have flocked to the city. Not only are they offered higher money wages than are obtainable on the farm, but they are also promised work throughout the year, a thing which is almost impossible on the farm, because of the dependence of farm labor upon the seasons. Not only has this attraction enticed the farm hand from the farm, but to an even greater extent it has drawn the immigrant to the city. In the early history of our country the farm offered greater inducements to the immigrant, but with present high prices for land and intricate modern methods of farming, the immigrant can seldom go to the farm even if he so desires. While the farm may offer higher real wages and greater economic returns ultimately, it is difficult for the farm laborer or renter to realize this fact.

2. *Commercial Growth of the Country.*—Similar to the industrial development has been the commercial growth. Present methods of industry demand wholesale offices in our cities for selling the goods manufactured; they require also middlemen and retail establishments. The result is a demand for increased facilities for transportation; hence railway centers arise. There must be more salesmen, buyers, shipping clerks, railway employees—all the immense army of men and women employed in modern business. This demand has attracted the young and enterprising from the rural districts, not altogether because of higher money wages, but because of the hope of advancement and future success in business. Although the average person would probably do better in the small place, the few with marked ability have an opportunity

to rise to greater heights than would have been possible in any rural community. While there are more blanks in the lottery, the prizes are greater; while more people fail than in the country, they are forgotten or are obscured by the success of a few.

3. *Change in Agricultural Methods.*—As the demand for labor in the city has increased, the relative demand in the country has decreased. The invention of new machinery, especially modern gang plows, reapers, and binders, has enabled one person to do work which formerly took five or ten men. The demand for agricultural products has constantly increased, it is true, but not in proportion to the increased efficiency of agricultural labor. This has caused the farm hand to migrate. No longer is there any cheap land, such as there was in early days of the country. Land has increased tremendously in value. Farm land in such states as Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri now costs from $100 to $200 an acre, and often more. This, coupled with the increased cost of machinery, horses, and cattle, requires a capital of several thousands of dollars in order to start farming successfully. Even if credit be obtainable, interest rates bring in an overhead charge of several hundred dollars a year. This situation not only prevents immigrants and other laborers from going to the farm; it even drives the farmer's sons away from the farm. If the son is enterprising and independent, and desires to marry and settle down, he does not care to wait until his father dies and the old farm comes to him, or (if there are several sons) is divided up. Also he may not only dislike to remain at home but may even be crowded out because of a large family.

On account of these conditions and the lessening demand for labor upon the farm, many workers migrate who would be willing to remain upon the farm, if opportunities were equal. The fact that a decreasing proportion of our population is needed upon the farm is not so serious in itself, unless the decrease be too rapid. The seriousness comes from the fact that the most enterprising and independent

are the ones who migrate, thus leaving the less energetic upon the farm.

4. *The City Is More Alluring.*—Not only from economic but from social reasons the city is more attractive; in fact, if the question should be carefully analyzed, it might be shown that social reasons are comparable in importance to the economic ones. Among these may be mentioned:

(1) Excitement.—The spirit of adventure draws the youth to the city in much the same manner that the frontier attracted the venturesome and daring in our pioneer days. Then people left the settlements to seek fortunes across the Appalachians, regardless of the dangers from wild beasts and Indians and of the hardships to be endured. In a like way the city attracts the same element to-day. The noise and bustle are alluring; there are more things to be seen and heard. Life is not so dull and monotonous as in the country. The loneliness and isolation are supplanted by stir and excitement. While life is harder in the city, and a living more difficult to wrest from society than in the country, opportunities for advancement are more frequent if one is alert, and enthusiasm and hope drive one on to greater efforts.

(2) Recreation.—In former days rural communities had recreational opportunities, such as husking, paring and quilting bees, log-rollings, house-raisings, spelling contests, picnics, and parties; but unfortunately as these entertainments became things of the past little was introduced to take their places. On the other hand, the city has furnished a never-ending series of amusements in the way of baseball games, theaters, parks, museums, prize-fights, wrestling matches, bowling, pool halls, electric parks, and moving picture shows. Life in the city is thus more alluring than in the country. The modern generation demands recreation, and it is only natural that the city should attract by these recreations.

(3) Intellectual Advantages.—The city offers better schools, more of them, and a greater variety of training. It offers greater advantages in the way of libraries, although exceptions should possibly be made of the New

England states, where every little town has a public library of some kind, generally containing the world's best literature. Art galleries and natural history museums are found only in large places. While magazines and newspapers are obtainable in most rural places, they are not so available in the country as in the city. The city pulpits are better supplied than country churches because they can command the best talent. This does not seem to exert a corresponding influence, however, because city churches draw a smaller proportion of the population than do country churches.

(4) Superior Comforts.—Many comforts are available to a much greater extent in the city, such as steam heat, electricity, gas, and facilities for shopping. These are especially attractive to farmers who have made a fortune sufficient to enable them to retire, and they appeal to the younger generation, especially to those who have traveled about somewhat or have been to college. The city also offers more attractive conditions of labor to both men and women. The housewife has less work to do, and the man's working day is several hours shorter than in the country, thus giving more time for recreation and amusement.

(5) Class Consciousness.—There has always been a line of discrimination drawn between the city dwellers and those who live in the country. The farmer is more or less looked down upon as uncouth and ignorant (at least it has been so in the past). The city person sneers at the small town inhabitant; this is shown in our urban newspapers and our magazines. Our educational training fits especially for city life, rather than for country life—so much so, that it educates away from the farm. We are now trying to remedy this defect, but in the past as soon as a person received an education he generally migrated to the city, because he considered that he had outgrown his former class.

(6) All Activities Center About the City.—Not only do industry, commerce, and education center about the large city, but all our activities are becoming more and more cen-

tralized. Our colleges are being established in large centers, magazines are published there, and even agricultural societies generally have their central offices located in some large city. The city is like a whirlpool or maelstrom around which our whole life whirls, and because of this force of attraction the city draws, or has drawn, the most efficient, active, and energetic from the country.

Forces Operating Against This Migration.—Against these forces counterbalancing forces are beginning to operate. The automobile is doing wonders toward making farm life more attractive and putting it into closer touch with the rest of the world. The rural free delivery of mail, parcels post, and rural telephones have all done their share in this direction, but the automobile possibly surpasses them all. Good roads are being built in all sections of the country, largely as a result of the coming of the automobile.

The automobile now gives the farmer a radius of communication formerly impossible with the horse-drawn vehicle. With the good roads, which are coming in everywhere, he can run to town in a few minutes on a business errand, market his produce, attend church, go to the "movies," or attend social functions, such as parties, dances and the like, miles away. The car permits expeditious transportation of his children to the consolidated school either in town or at a rural center. In this way the farmer's contacts are increased and he is getting to differ little in dress, manners or habits from those who live in town.

The radio, however, is possibly of still greater benefit to the farmer in the way of cultural contacts than even the automobile. It permits him to remain comfortably at home, yet at the same time to enjoy the music of famous orchestras, grand opera by the most famous opera companies in the land, the best sermons preached from distant city pulpits, lectures by farm experts, crop and weather reports, as well as popular entertainments of all sorts. All these are at his command without even the trouble or expense of buying tickets, or even adding to the church collection.

The telephone likewise puts him in instant touch with his

markets, and enables his wife to shop or chat with friends. So with all these conveniences rural isolation is breaking down.

The farmer's wife is now able to get many of the comforts and conveniences in the way of labor-saving devices in the house which her city friend has been able to obtain for some time. The biggest handicap is the absence of electric current but this is slowly being taken into the rural communities. As we shall see later, better school buildings are being constructed, and more useful methods of instruction introduced. The recently established system of government rural credits promises much in the way of enabling young men to get started in farming.

Our agricultural colleges and experiment stations have done much in instructing farmers how to get the largest returns from their farms. Co-operation is the greatest hope of the future in securing larger returns to the producer. Co-operative methods have been successful in parts of Europe in the marketing of farm products, especially butter, bacon, cheese, and eggs. In Denmark co-operation has turned a poor country into one of the most prosperous lands in the world. The idea is being introduced into the United States and its applicability to conditions here has been fully demonstrated. This is particularly true in regard to the operation of grain elevators, the selling of milk and creamery products, and the marketing of fruits (as illustrated by the California Fruit Growers' Association). As a result, co-operation is now being rapidly adopted in the marketing of all manner of farm products. This, coupled with scientific farming, will make the farmer financially prosperous and as a result many of the causes of urban migration will disappear.

Farming is no longer looked upon as a haphazard business, in which any person, no matter whether he has the ability to do anything else or not, can succeed. Instead, it is being considered as a business which requires modern business methods and scientific management, and these methods are being applied. The farm is regarded no longer as a place for the ne'er-do-wells but for the most energetic

and enterprising, and it is attracting the latter class because of the chance it offers of increased prosperity. The ideal condition has not been reached by any means, and there are still many unsolved problems. Some of them we shall now consider.

Problems of the Country.—Rural problems are not so sensational and appealing as are the problems which we find in cities, such as child labor and immorality. Conditions are not so bad as in our city slums. Poverty, while often present, never has the pitiful features of poverty in cities for the simple reason that the farmer produces his own food and hence generally has sufficient to prevent hunger. Fuel is usually obtainable, and few suffer from cold. The spirit of neighborliness has not disappeared in rural sections and the needy are cared for. In the city unemployment means destitution because the income stops. In the country one is ordinarily his own employer; even if one is dependent upon daily labor, suffering is never as keen. Crime is infrequent in the country because of lack of temptation or opportunity to commit it. If a person does commit a crime he generally goes to the city to avoid detection. While the small town produces its full share of the vicious and criminal, these people often do not remain there, although some small towns can be found which are veritable hot-beds of vice and crime.

On the whole the country is more healthful, but it is by no means as healthful as it might be. The country should—and could—be the most attractive place in which to live, not only the most healthful and most profitable, but also the pleasantest and most comfortable; unfortunately it often falls far short of this. The sins of the country are ones of omission, rather than of commission. The farmer is essentially a middle-class person, if we can safely assign any social group to such a class. We should not expect him to be as polished in manners, as neat in dress, as careful about his language, or as highly educated, as the lawyer or banker, for illustration; but he often falls below middle-class standards. The rural problem is by no means a matter of charity, but of education, and of community organization.

1. *The Country School.*—In general, country schools are not the equal of town schools. Not only is the equipment poorer but the teachers are frequently inexperienced or poorly trained for their work. They receive poor pay, often very insignificant salaries, which of course do not attract those who are capable; hence country schools are usually taught by those lacking experience or by those unable to obtain positions in town schools. While the school buildings are adequate in many cases they are far too often dilapidated or poorly planned in regard to ventilation, lighting, and sanitation. On the average, school terms are shorter than terms in cities. One of the most serious defects is the overloading of the country teacher with classes. He or she may be given all the grades, and so is unable to give proper attention to any of them.

There are frequently too few students in the school to provide the proper stimulation and rivalry, especially in the upper classes, which sometimes contain only one or two students. There are many rural schools with too few pupils to provide any sort of give-and-take among them or to permit organized play of any kind. Consolidation of these smaller schools offers a solution for many of these evils, by making possible larger classes, and more and better teachers. It does not solve all the difficulties, but if properly handled goes a long way towards the solution of some. The old-time country school, however, is a thing of the past, because the conditions of the past will not return; the country school of the future must meet the conditions of to-morrow.

In the past the schoolhouse served as a social center, but it has not been much used as such in recent years. The old entertainments have been outgrown and few new ones have taken their place. The school plant should be used as a social center, where entertainments, such as moving picture shows, fairs, and track meets, can be held, and where clubs can meet; in this way country life may be made more interesting and satisfying.

The curriculum of the school does not always give the rural student the proper training needed for life, as it is

too often designed to fit for the high school, which in turn fits for college; thus the child is educated away from the farm instead of for the farm. The study of scientific agriculture has been introduced into rural schools, but because of inexperienced teachers this subject is generally poorly taught. Agricultural high schools are now being introduced, but are as yet few in number. Their aim is to prepare students who intend to follow farming for their life work, and to give them such other training as will be of use to them in after life. The education furnished by our agricultural colleges is steadily improving and is being taken advantage of more and more. It is doing the farmer a great service.

In fine, the country school is slowly being improved, but before it can be made what it should be, there is need of an entire change of sentiment in most communities in regard to the importance of education for the farmer. A strong desire to improve all such facilities must be created.

2. *The Country Church.*—The country church does not play the part in the life of the rural community that it formerly did. Like the rural school, it has not adapted itself to new conditions. It has been hard hit by the migration to the city of the most enterprising, as it has thus lost its leaders. Salaries are low and ministers poorly qualified, often being theological students or else men who have not kept up with the times and so cannot stimulate the community and inject new life into it. Generally, rural communities are over-supplied as to buildings and church organizations, but the churches are starved as to attendance and support. Many argue that there is as great a need of consolidation of churches as of schools, but attempts at reform of this kind have not met with the success that has attended such moves toward school consolidation, largely because of denominational loyalty. There have been some successes in this line, however, and greater progress can be expected.

The country church is not the social center that it ought to be. In order to take the place which it should hold in the community, it must become more active in the social life

of the community. This is being done in a few neighborhoods but needs extension in order to permit it to function as it should. In many ways the church is much better fitted for this work than the school, although in other respects it is handicapped. The country church needs better pastors, and in order to attract them it must be willing to pay salaries sufficient to guarantee a living wage for a competent pastor located in the community, and not depend upon students to supply one or two Sundays in the month. What the country church needs is new life. With the most energetic people going to the city this is difficult to accomplish. But with the return of prosperity to the farm, it may become easier.

3. *Recreation.*—The lack of recreation is a serious matter for the country and an important cause of urban migration. When the sports and entertainments of colonial and pioneer days were outgrown, new ones did not come to take their place, at least not in sufficient measure to fill the need. Consequently, country life has too frequently become dull and uninteresting; it has degenerated into either dull drudgery or a sordid struggle for wealth. This condition has had a depressing effect upon the younger generation and as a result the best have too frequently left the farm. The country Y. M. C. A. and other young people's organizations are doing much to meet the need. The automobile enables people to get away from home but too often makes them prefer to drive into the city for social life and entertainment. As suggested before, the parcels post, telephone, and rural free delivery of mail are making country life less isolated and lonesome. Rural social centers probably offer the best remedy for this situation, and with increased financial prosperity the country will provide these and other recreational facilities.

4. *Wasteful Methods.*—One of the greatest detriments to farming to-day is the lack of application of business methods. There is a tremendous waste and leakage. The farm is not made to contribute by any means as much as it might. Yields per acre for all sections of the country are far below what they should be, largely because of the fail-

ure on the part of farmers to make use of modern methods of agriculture. Farmers are, however, losing their distrust of "new-fangled" methods and "book farming," and are learning that agricultural colleges and experiment stations are able to give them much help. Lecturers and exhibition trains sent out by the government are now taken advantage of by the farmers, whereas at first they were scoffed at. As has been suggested, the farmer in the past failed to realize from his farm products as much as he should have, because middlemen took too large a share. Now by means of organization he is rapidly learning to get his share and to reduce the middlemen's profits to their proper amount. But wasteful methods are still found upon the farm. One has only to travel through almost any farming section to see valuable farm machinery rusting in the fields, expensive binders, mowing machines, and plows being left where they were last used. This is pure waste, and somebody has to pay for this added cost of farming.

American farmers are criticized for allowing land to go to waste by never cultivating corners and by using unproductively large amounts of land. This is largely owing to the fact that the average farmer, especially in the western states, has more land than he can effectively farm. We cannot blame him for buying up all the land that he can, because of the probability of its increasing in value and the profit resulting on his investment, but from a national standpoint the practice is wasteful. From time to time we hear a great deal about tenant farmers, absentee owners who rent their farms, and the fact that renters, having no permanent interest in the farm, allow it to run down, and follow the so-called "skinning" method, thus ruining the soil and robbing it of its natural richness. Much of our soil, especially in the East, has been worn out in the past by just such methods, but farmers are now generally becoming acquainted with methods of replenishing the needed elements in the soil by proper rotation of crops and the use of fertilizers. Renters, however, will not use these methods unless compelled to do so; neither will shiftless and shortsighted farmers. This phase of the problem is

possibly receiving more attention than many others and, because it seriously affects the pocketbook of the owner, has caused him to do something about it. Our farming in the past has been too extensive; it will be only a question of time until more intensive methods must be used, in order that this country may support the population which it is destined to have within a few decades. The problem of waste is one which only education can solve.

Other phases of the rural problem might be mentioned, but those just discussed are probably the most serious. The whole problem is one of isolation, as contrasted with the problem of congestion, which is peculiarly that of the city. While city problems have been before us for decades, the rural problem is one that has attracted our attention only recently, and therefore has not had the remedial measures applied to it that have been administered to the problem of the city. Despite its gravity, because of lack of attention, it will in all probability more easily lend itself to solution. But at present it cannot be ignored.

Problems of the City.—Migration to the city has caused a problem in the country by reason of the loss of the most energetic, and at the same time has created in the city a problem of congestion. This migration from rural districts to the city has been supplemented, as we have seen, by the tide of immigration, in addition to the natural growth in population of the city itself. Gillette estimates the growth in population of American cities, during the decade 1919-1929 according to cause as follows: immigration, 23.3 per cent; rural migration, 45.2 per cent; natural increase, 23.4 per cent; the incorporation of new territory, 8.1 per cent.[3] This congestion of population has brought in many problems, many of which are just the opposite of those found in rural districts.

1. *Transportation.*—Even the use of city streets has become a problem. Traffic regulations are necessary, not only at street corners in the directing of traffic, but also in the use of certain streets for surface cars, and prohibition

[3] Gillette, John M., *Rural Sociology*, p. 94. (Macmillan, 1928, rev. ed.)

of the use of certain vehicles on certain streets, and in some of our larger cities, the designation of some streets as "one way" streets. The transportation of people to and from work, as well as the handling of shopping crowds, is a tremendous burden, entirely too large in most of our great cities for the street railway systems to handle, and requiring the addition of elevated or subway lines, to say nothing of the use of suburban trains on the steam lines, which in many places, especially Boston, handle a large share of the business.

The tremendous increase in the use of the automobile, while it has made transportation much faster, has complicated traffic problems. It has relieved the congestion on the street car lines but it has brought in the problem of the giant buses which are now crowding our city streets. The increased speed has added to the risk hazards and made the work of the traffic police much more difficult. The problem of parking in our city streets is now a serious one. Other phases of the transportation problem are the need of both passenger and freight terminals, costing vast sums because of the value of city real estate. The Grand Central and Pennsylvania passenger stations in New York City with their approaches cost over $250,000,000. While these are our most expensive stations, the establishment of proper terminals in all cities is a problem involving enormous expense and much engineering skill. Because of their monopoly of the business, street railways bring in problems in regard to the granting of franchises, and their regulation and control, for the sake of proper public service. This problem of transportation leads to many other problems, such as high rent and bad housing conditions.

2. *Municipal Government.*—The government of cities is a difficult problem. In the past, many of our American cities have been conspicuous for their failings—to such an extent indeed that American municipal government is often referred to as one of the worst forms of government to be found in civilized nations. City government in this country has been notorious for its graft; in fact, it has been so bad in most cities that many voters have given up in disgust

and look upon any change in administration as simply the pushing out of one band of grafters by another fully as bad. Many cities are remedying this situation by the adoption of the commission form of government, thereby centralizing responsibility, the lack of which is a great weakness in most city governments. City managers are also being introduced, especially in the smaller cities, in order to install business methods in city affairs. Both of these plans have improved the situation, but there is still room for improvement. The greater use of civil service rules often helps, although recently a city administration in Chicago ignored those holding office under the civil service laws and deposed them, in order to make room for friends and followers. The government of cities at best is a difficult problem, even when the administration attempts really to serve the people, but when politicians make use of their offices for their own benefit, the difficulty is greatly intensified; hence our failure in the past.

3. *Health.*—Formerly the death rate of cities was extremely high, and while this condition has been improved, on the average it is still above that of rural communities. The congestion of population naturally increases the liability to contagious diseases, especially in the public schools. The danger from accident is greater because of the rush and bustle of city life. The care of the sick and injured is a large task and requires more attention than in the country. Private hospitals are unable to deal with the problem because of the poverty of many people; private medical care has to be supplemented by municipal hospitals and dispensaries, by the institution of visiting nurses and medical inspection in school, and by the establishment of free clinics.

Purity of food supplies is a greater health problem than in the country, especially in regard to milk and vegetables, because nearly all the food consumed in cities must be imported from the country and requires careful inspection both as to packing and transportation, and its sale. This matter has been given widespread attention and in many places is very effectively handled. The water supply is also

a matter for serious consideration, the water often being brought hundreds of miles at the cost of millions of dollars. Unless a pure source is tapped, the drinking water has to be filtered by the city—a process which is both difficult and expensive.

The disposal of wastes, especially garbage, street sweepings and sewage, is a problem, at times baffling experts because of the location of the city. The whole question of sanitation for a city is a mammoth one, but fortunately one which is being given a great deal of attention.

Because of the scarcity of land there has been a premium upon housing space; hence there has crept into our cities extremely unsanitary and unhealthful tenements, particularly those of the old "dumb-bell" type. Modern building codes, when properly enforced, protect the city against this evil. The city is troubled with many unhealthful occupations and unwholesome working conditions, which menace the health of the dwellers in all our cities. The whole health situation in a city is a grave one, but during the past few years a great deal of attention has been paid to it and it will have still more in the future. Even now in some respects the city is more healthful than the country because of this careful oversight.

4. *Protection.*—As we shall see in our study of social maladjustment, crime and vice, like poverty, are more prevalent in cities, because of greater opportunity and temptation. Therefore more careful protection both of life and of property on the part of the police is demanded. Our city police forces are generally so huge, and brought into such close contact with crime and politics, that they themselves very frequently become corrupt and inefficient. But the very organization of police forces is a big task. Protection must be given the public on every street corner by traffic policemen; criminals must be run down; and the public in general must be protected and aided. The danger from fire is great and all of our cities have expensive and more or less efficient fire departments. The labor problem is more difficult in the city than in the country and often property and life have to be protected from violence in

times of labor disturbance involving public service corporations, such as street railways. Vice exists in every city. Intemperance used to be greater in cities, and the regulation of the liquor business was always difficult and a source of much crime, poverty, and corruption. Even the administration of justice is hindered because of the vast amount of work devolving on the courts. City jails are also necessary to house those convicted of minor crimes. It is by no means a small undertaking to protect the lives, property, health, and morals of the inhabitants of a large city.

5. *Education.*—The city as well as the country has its educational problem, only it is complicated by having too many children to care for, rather than too few. The number is often so great that the capacity of school buildings is inadequate; the increase so rapid that the city is unable to keep pace with facilities. Sometimes half-day sessions are necessary. The Gary system of rotation of classes, thus making use of all the school facilities all the time, is the best method devised thus far for handling the situation. An attendant evil has been the development of too much machinery and too arbitrary a system of education, putting thereby all sorts of children through the same process. A remedy is found in a variety of special classes, such as classes for the dull, the precocious, the truant, and the physically defective. The school system has seldom fitted the student for his future work, but now special schools, particularly trade schools, are established to meet this need. It is an arduous undertaking to run the schools of any large city, to hire efficient teachers, maintain discipline, provide proper equipment, supervise sanitation, and to do all this upon the amount of money appropriated by the city. Such difficulties are by no means insurmountable; in fact, they are usually handled with some degree of efficiency; they are, however, problems which will never be completely solved, because new conditions will constantly arise. Hence the educational phase of any growing city will always require attention.

6. *Recreation.*—The city also has its recreation problem; it is not so much the lack of means of recreation, as in the

country, but the placing within the reach of all opportunities for healthful recreation and wholesome pleasure. It means the control and regulation of the commercialized forms of amusement, such as theaters, dance halls, pool rooms, and bowling alleys; the construction of suitable playgrounds for the children of the crowded districts; and the providing of public parks, art galleries, bathing beaches, public baths, and social centers. The problem is twofold—to eliminate questionable and degrading sorts of recreation, and to stimulate and provide opportunities for healthful and uplifting ones. It is a question of quality rather than of quantity.

7. *Municipal Ownership and Control.*—Public service industries, with the growth of cities, have become institutions of much importance, especially those responsible for systems of lighting, gas works, street railways, and the handling of food, ice, and coal. Two methods of controlling these services are control by the city and ownership by the city. Control is generally the first step but it often leads to ownership. Various arguments can be advanced in favor of each of these methods; choice between them depends largely upon the place and conditions, but the tendency seems to be towards the ownership on the part of the city of those industries which are vital to the public and which are of such a nature as may lead to monopolies. Street railways, subways, and heating and lighting plants have been acquired in much the same way that the ownership of waterworks and sewerage systems has been taken over by cities. This policy can be extended but slowly, because of the inexperience of the American people in the governmental management of industries, and because of the attitude towards public ownership ordinarily shown in this country; but there seems to be some movement in this direction.

8. *City Planning.*—At first cities "simply grew" without much idea of a plan; but because they did not always grow in a manner beneficial to succeeding generations and because there arose populations several times the size of those anticipated, it is now being realized that a city should be planned for the future, not only with reference to streets,

railroads, and public buildings, but also in regard to practically all the industries of the city. The new plan is being applied in many cities in order to control future growth, and attempts are also being made to rectify the mistakes of the past. It is, however, extremely difficult to make any kind of accurate estimate in regard to the future development and growth of any given city. Some have a steady growth, others grow by fits and starts, still others do not grow at all, and a few decline in population and importance.

The whole problem of urban migration, while needing the attention of society, is by no means hopeless. Society needs only to remedy the bad features, such as those indicated above. It is a natural development, a phase of the evolution of society; it is merely a part of the world movement of populations.

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CHAPTER X

THE AMERICAN RACE PROBLEM

The term, "race" is used in several different ways. It is used to define a species sub-division. In this sense, the human species is divided into three great sub-species or races—the Caucasian, the Mongoloid and the Negroid. The term is also used to designate sub-divisions of these. In this sense, the Caucasian may be divided into the Nordic, the Alpine, the Mediterranean and the Hindu, and each of these may be referred to as a race. While, as we shall see in another chapter, it is not scientific to claim innate superiority, either physical or mental, for any one race over another, these races differ in both physical appearance and mental characteristics. Chief among the physical differences are skin color, stature—although there are often as great, if not greater differences within a race as between races, color and texture of hair, shape of skull, and differences in physical features, such as the eyes, lips, cheek bones and nose. While all races are more or less mixed, these differences are apparent and in general distinguish the members of the different races.

Race antagonism seems to be almost universal. This applies not only to the three great racial divisions but also to the sub-divisions and even extends to nationalities. It seems to be almost universal, again, for each race or division of people to look upon itself as superior, and to look down upon other races or peoples, when they come into contact and conflict. The English look down upon the Hindus; the Hindus despise the English. The same feeling has arisen when the yellow and the white men have come in contact. Each race not only thinks itself superior, but each nation looks upon its country and people as the best; each state

does likewise, and the average citizen in every state considers his town the best place in which to live.

In this chapter the American Negro problem will be treated as an example of race problems in general, and discussed as more than an illustration because of its seriousness as an American social problem. However, we must first take into consideration that it has some peculiar features. Here we have the greatest color shock in the meeting of representatives of the darkest and lightest skin colors—however, extremes of either are rarely met with in America—and other physical differences, such as thickness of lips, hair texture, and bodily shape, are among the greatest in contrast. Then in regard to social achievement and political conquest and leadership we have the most successful meeting the least successful. The Southern slave owners were chiefly Nordic and they represented not only the lightest as to complexion but the most domineering element of the Caucasians. So we have the coming together of the greatest extremes, both physical and social.

While the Negro forms the largest of the three Negroid races—Negro, Melanesian and Dwarf Black or Bushmen—it is by no means a uniform type. The race is made up of many tribes and practically all of these are more or less mixed, not only among themselves, but with other races, so that there is among the Negroes a wide divergence in physical appearance and social achievement. But, as we shall show later in more detail, the American Negro is particularly mixed and is by no means a typical example of the Negro race. As Reuter expresses it,[1] "The American Negroes are not a race in the anthropological sense: they are a population group, highly mixed in racial stock and ancestry. But by virtue of a distinctive appearance they tend to occupy a definite and restricted social status. As a result of this status they possess certain characteristic mental and social traits."

Increase of Negro Population.—Let us indicate the ex-

[1] Reuter, E. B., *The American Race Problem*, p. 35, T. Y. Crowell Co., 1927.

tent of our problem by figures on the relative size of negro population, the rate of increase, the percentage of mulattoes, and the distribution in the states in which they are to be found. The first negroes were brought to this country by the Dutch in 1619, when a cargo of twenty was landed at Jamestown, Virginia, and sold as slaves to the planters. From that time until January 1, 1809, when the importation of slaves was prohibited by Congress, slaves were imported into the United States in varying numbers, thus adding to the natural increase among those already here. No reliable records are available till 1790, when our first census was taken, but from that time the negro population has increased as follows:

Census Year	*Negro Population*	*Per Cent of Total Population*	*Per Cent Negro Increase*	*Per Cent White Increase*
1790	757,208	19.3	——	——
1800	1,002,037	18.9	32.3	35.8
1810	1,377,808	19.0	37.5	36.1
1820	1,771,656	18.4	28.6	34.2
1830	2,328,642	18.1	31.4	33.9
1840	2,873,648	16.8	23.4	34.7
1850	3,630,808	15.7	26.6	37.7
1860	4,441,830	14.1	24.2	37.7
1870 [2]	5,392,172	13.5	21.4	27.5
1880	6,580,793	13.1	23.2	26.4
1890	7,488,676	11.9	16.2	26.7
1900	8,833,994	11.6	17.1	21.2
1910	9,827,763	10.7	11.5	22.3
1920	10,463,013	9.9	6.3	16.0

[2] For 1870 corrected figures are used instead of those enumerated.

These statistics show that while the negro population has increased rapidly, it has not increased so rapidly as the white; hence it has steadily become a smaller element in our total population. How much this decrease is owing to immigration and how much to the higher mortality of the negro we do not know. In all probability both are responsible. When we study the location of the Negro we find that for the most part he still remains in the Southern States where slavery formerly flourished and that even there he is not holding his own with the white. So while

the Negro has a much higher birth-rate than the white, his higher death-rate more than makes up for it; this is evident, for the Southern States have received practically no foreign immigration and few settlers from the Northern States.

Nearly 90 per cent of the negro population is found in the Southern States which formerly allowed slavery, and over 80 per cent in the eleven states which contain that strip of country stretching from Virginia to Texas, known as the "Black Belt." The ratios of negroes to the total populations of the fifteen former slave-holding states for the years 1860, 1900, and 1920 are as follows:

	Per Cent of Total Population		
States—	*1860*	*1900*	*1920*
Alabama	45.4	45.2	38.4
Arkansas	25.6	28.0	27.0
Delaware	19.3	16.6	13.6
Florida	44.6	43.6	34.0
Georgia	44.0	46.7	41.7
Kentucky	20.4	13.3	9.8
Louisiana	49.5	47.1	38.9
Maryland	24.9	19.8	16.9
Mississippi	55.3	55.5	52.2
Missouri	10.0	5.0	5.2
North Carolina	36.4	33.0	29.8
South Carolina	58.6	58.4	51.4
Tennessee	25.5	23.8	19.3
Texas	30.3	20.4	15.9
Virginia	42.0	35.7	29.9

There are some counties along the Mississippi River in which the Negro far outnumbers the white; for example, Issequena County, Mississippi, has a population consisting of 6,915 negroes and 702 whites—90.8 per cent negro; Tensas Parish, Louisiana, has 10,314 negroes and 1,769 whites—85.3 per cent negro; and Tunica County, Mississippi, has 18,207 negroes and 2,179 white—89.0 per cent negro. In 1860 the negroes equaled or exceeded the whites in 244 counties; in 1910 there were 263 such counties, 187 of which were in the first list. While there has been some change, the region having the densest black population has remained almost the same; i.e., a strip up the Mississippi as far north as Memphis, Tennessee; another strip across

Central Alabama; Georgia; nearly all of South Carolina; and a small area in southern Virginia.

Urban vs. Rural Population.—In 1790 the four states of Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina contained 87 per cent of the total negro population of the United States. Later, with the rise of the great cotton, rice and sugar plantations of the far South, the negro population moved south and west, going at first rapidly and later slowly till in 1910 the center of gravity of the negro population had moved 478 miles from its original location near Petersburg, Virginia, in 1790 to the northeastern corner of Alabama. Then with the northern migration due to the World War it moved back in 1920 nine and one-half miles east and nineteen and one-half miles north of its 1910 location. But even with this northern migration 85.2 per cent of the negro population remained in the Southern States.

In the South the Negro has principally been a rural dweller, in the North he has gone to the cities to secure work, as northern farmers have never been accustomed to employing Negroes. In northern cities he was discriminated against and while offered, as a rule, only unskilled tasks he nevertheless could obtain work. Hence the negro population in the North has been primarily urban. In recent years the movement to cities, which has been a characteristic of American life, has affected the Negro as well as the white and has spread to the South. Here the drift has been from the plantation and open country to the villages and small towns; from the small towns to the larger southern cities, such as Birmingham, where work was obtainable in the steel industry, and then finally from the larger southern cities to the northern industrial centers, such as Chicago, Detroit and Cleveland. Because of this the percentage of negro population in the southern cities has not grown as rapidly as in northern cities. While the actual number of Negroes in southern cities has increased the number of whites has increased more rapidly and the ratio of Negroes to total population actually fell between 1910 and 1920. New York City with 152,467, Philadelphia with 134,229, Wash-

ington, D. C., with 109,966, Chicago with 109,458, Baltimore with 108,322, and New Orleans with 100,930 were the only cities in the United States having a negro population of over 100,000 in 1920. Of southern cities other than New Orleans, Birmingham led with 70,230, followed by Atlanta with 62,796, Memphis with 61,181, and Richmond with 54,041. The following tables will show the percentage of urban increase in the United States and some of our leading cities.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGROES, URBAN AND RURAL; WITH PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE OR DECREASE, 1890–1920

United States

Year	*Per Cent Urban*	*Per Cent Urban Inc.*	*Per Cent Rural*	*Per Cent Rural Inc.*
1890	19.4	——	80.6	——
1900	22.7	35.4	77.3	13.6
1910	27.4	34.0	72.6	4.5
1920	34.0	32.3	66.0	–3.3

The South

Year	*Per Cent Urban*	*Per Cent Urban Inc.*	*Per Cent Rural*	*Per Cent Rural Inc.*
1890	15.3	——	84.7	——
1900	17.2	32.0	82.8	14.5
1910	21.2	35.8	78.8	5.1
1920	25.3	21.3	74.7	–3.4

PERCENTAGE OF INCREASE IN NEGRO POPULATION OF CERTAIN LARGE CITIES, 1900–1920

City	*Per Cent Increase 1900–1910*	*Per Cent Increase 1910–1920*
Northern Cities		
Detroit	39.6	611.3
Cleveland	41.1	307.8
Chicago	46.3	148.2
New York	51.2	66.3
Philadelphia	34.9	58.5
Indianapolis	36.9	59.0
St. Louis	23.8	58.9
Cincinnati	35.6	53.2
Southern Cities		
Birmingham	215.6	34.3
Jacksonville	80.4	41.7
Norfolk	23.8	73.3
Atlanta	21.0	45.3

So, despite this recent movement to cities the mass of the negro population, especially in the South, still lives in rural districts. While the movement to cities has been important, it has only been a part of the general phenomenon of urban migration.

Blacks and Mulattoes.—In its various enumerations the United States Census has endeavored to list the number of "blacks" and "mulattoes," and the census of 1890 even tried to estimate the number of "quadroons" and "octoroons." In these tabulations the census enumerators have generally been instructed to enumerate as "black" those who appeared to be three-fourths or more of negro blood. All such statistics are of course inaccurate, and, in fact, little better than guesses on the part of the census takers. The following are some of the conditions which must be taken into consideration when we use these census figures.

1. There is no pure negro type in America to go by. Practically all African tribes are more or less mixed, and the negroes who were brought to America were not exceptions. As the negro population in the United States becomes lighter, as it is constantly doing, the "pure negro" becomes less pure.

2. Skin color is only one of many negro characteristics. Other factors must be included, such as thick lips, flat noses, kinky or curly hair, and bodily shape. While all these are undoubtedly considered, too much stress is generally placed on skin color.

3. It would simply be impossible to make anything like a fair test or an accurate estimate in the brief time at the disposal of the census taker. For such reasons the present writer hesitates to quote any statistics in regard to the percentage of mulattoes in the United States. Various estimates of those of mixed blood have been made and these range from one-fourth to three-fourths of the colored population, and some guesses have placed the ratio even higher. Census figures are lower, the 1920 census giving 20.9 per cent as mulatto and 79.1 per cent as black.

Some conditions and tendencies have, however, been noted. Among these are the following:

1. The ratio of mixed bloods has been steadily increasing. This does not mean necessarily any increase in the crossing of the races but rather that the white blood is steadily seeping through the whole black population. Those lighter in color, especially the lighter colored females, are preferred as mates, hence those lighter in color are more apt to marry and become parents.

2. Where there are the fewest negroes the percentage of mixed blood is the highest. This is because those lighter in color have been more restless and dissatisfied in the South and have gone to the North and West. The mulatto is more apt to resent his position of social inferiority and endeavors to escape from it.

3. Mulattoes have gone more to towns, while the purer blacks have tended to remain more in rural districts. This again is probably the result of the same restlessness.

4. The females of mixed bloods outnumber the males of mixed blood, especially in the towns. Many explanations for this have been given, such as the possible greater tendency to inherit skin color from the opposite sex; the greater survival of the female children; and the greater opportunities for the lighter colored males to go to a new community and pass over into the white ranks. Errors in enumeration may count, also the greater efforts of the female to appear lighter by use of cosmetics and preparations for straightening the hair.

While statistics are incomplete and faulty we must take into consideration the constantly increasing ratio of those of mixed blood, especially in our cities; we must also expect them to play a more prominent role in the race question, at least for some time to come.

Sex Composition of Negro Population.—One curious feature of the Negro problem is the preponderance of females. In 1920 there were only 992 males to 1000 females; in 1910 there were only 989 and in 1900 only 986. This difference is especially marked in cities where the ratio for the above years was 954, 907, and 878 as against 1012, 1021, and 1021 for the rural communities, thus showing that Negro women have moved to town in much the same pro-

portion as white women. Whether this female preponderance is due to greater male mortality or a greater tendency to have female children is yet to be determined.

Influence of Past History Upon the Negro.—In studying the Negro we must take into consideration his past history, not only in America during the period of slavery, but also in Africa for thousands of years before he came here. Whether or not the Negro differed from other races before he migrated to Africa is not known, but in all probability he had traits in common with other inhabitants of Asia Minor. The theory is often favored, and as frequently denied, that the Negro owes his dark skin and woolly hair to the effect of the heat of the sun, the heat producing the pigment under the skin, which causes the color to develop and the hair to curl. Another explanation—and a more plausible one—is that those who had the pigment withstood the heat of the sun better than the persons who were not so protected, and thus they survived and increased, while the less protected ones died out; consequently the pigment was through natural selection universally developed among negroes.

A similar explanation is advanced as to the other characteristics of the Negro; that, for example, those who had a high birth-rate survived while those who did not perished; the reason being that a high birth-rate was necessary to withstand the high death-rate caused by the climate and the ravages of wild beasts. Those who had large families were those who married early; those groups who treated the women and children well were apt to survive. This tended to develop the strong family affection that exists in the Negro, and to bring about early marriages and large families.

The docility of the Negro, his easy-going attitude towards life, his laziness and indifference to the future may also be explained in similar manner, for those who were inclined to be nervous and excitable, who took life too seriously, were unable to survive the hot climate; those who took things easier did survive. Geographic environment on the other hand may be responsible, at least in part for such

characteristics. The Negro had no cause for worry as to his food supply; nature, while hard on him in regard to disease and wild beasts, was an abundant provider. Food was plentiful on every hand; so there was no incentive to provide for the future or even to work hard. There was no need of much clothing, merely enough for ornament and for satisfying the claims of modesty—which did not demand much. The same was true as to shelter; no great provision had to be made, only protection from rain and beasts being necessary.

In short his life tended to develop in the Negro an easy-going, care-free disposition. Because food was abundant the Negro developed a large physique. But stimuli to mental development were not so strong. Mind is the product of necessity; man thinks only when forced to do so. The negro was not compelled to use much ingenuity or to tax his intellect to any great extent to provide a living; so his mental capacities were not as well developed. Nature did not select the shrewd or cunning as in the colder climates; thus we find the Negro possessing a strong physique but less developed intellect. By this we do not mean that potentially the black mind is inferior: but since civilization is the cumulation of achievement, and since the Negro did not achieve like the white man, because he was not compelled to do so, he has not made any accumulation to compare with that of the white man; hence his ranking below the white in the scale of progress, and his falling a victim to the superior cunning, courage, and fighting ability of the white. For this reason the black has become a subject race while the white has become a ruling race. So in our study of the Negro in America we must remember his past history. While he has been removed from the environment that brought about this condition, the effects of it are still with him. In Africa he came into contact with a condition of nature which he could not explain; it was awe-inspiring and at the same time too complicated for him to master; hence his belief in magic, superstition, and witchcraft. The Negro brought these beliefs to America with him, and many of them are still accepted by the majority of the negroes,

simply because they have been handed down from generation to generation. While other races have passed through similar stages the Negro's contact with civilization has been very recent and under an artificial condition. It will take him many years, possibly hundreds, to catch up completely with the white—if he ever does. His past hangs upon him like a dead weight.

The first effect of slavery was in all probability a sharp test of survival, a sort of survival of the fittest—that is, fittest for slavery—in the capture, march to the coast and trip across the ocean. Those who resisted and fought were generally killed; the weak perished on the trip to the coast as did the high-strung and independent negroes when they tried to resist or escape. In this way the strong and submissive survived. Then the trip over—often under inhuman and revolting conditions in regard to over-crowding, lack of food and water, the breaking out of disease, terrible sanitary conditions—was another severe test of fitness both in regard to physique and nervous temperament. The strong, complacent and submissive were the ones who survived.

In Africa the Negro had been accustomed to slavery; in fact, many if not the majority of the tribes kept slaves. The Negro was, therefore, familiar with slavery and had learned to adjust himself to it. There are even cases on record of free negroes in America owning slaves themselves. On the other hand the American colonists were not familiar with slavery for it was not a part of the mores of the peoples of Northern Europe. When slaves were introduced into Virginia they were looked upon as servants rather than as slaves and were at first treated much like the indentured white servants with whom the colonists were familiar. There soon developed, however, a different conception of their relationship. The service of the indentured servants was limited to a definite number of years, while no such time limit was placed on the service of the colored arrival, except possibly in a few of the early instances. Then the indentured servants had white skins, so when they were freed they were quickly lost in the

general population, in fact many even ran away and disappeared before the expiration of their time. The Negro because of his color could not thus escape. The Negro did not even understand our laws and customs and so did not know his rights, if he had any. The Indians, who had previously been tried as servants and slaves could easily escape into the forests, but the Negro was unfamiliar with this country and being far from his own country felt compelled to accommodate himself to slavery and so became a valuable servant. Thus it was only natural that he became a servant for life and his children likewise became servants or slaves.

Instead of opposing slavery the Negroes as a class accepted it, adapted themselves to it, and accepted their own inferior status as a natural condition. They even took pride in their masters, and looked upon them as superiors. In this way the two races adjusted themselves to each other and in most cases lived amicably together. This condition of course did not come in without some friction. Many of the imported slaves had to be "broken in" by being worked beside older slaves and gradually accustomed to plantation work. This was made easier because the slaves had been drawn from so many tribes and spoke so many different languages and dialects. All slaves had to learn English, not only to understand the commands of their masters, but in order to converse among themselves. At times, of course, hard feeling was aroused and even negro insurrections occurred. Also on the big plantations of the far South harsher conditions developed and as friendly relations did not exist. But since their former controls and culture had been broken down there was only one thing for the Negro to do, to adapt himself to slavery and in this he was extremely successful. The southern whites also became accustomed to slavery, and even found religious sanctions for it, especially on the ground that the Negro was a heathen.

In the extreme South on the large plantations, with their huge gangs of slaves, overseers, drivers and absentee owners, slavery took on its worst forms and became a harsh,

inhuman institution. Here harsh laws were also made against the slaves and these give us another picture of slavery from that found in such states as Virginia and Kentucky.

In slavery the Negro came into contact with white civilization and acquired at least the outward forms of white culture. He acquired the English language, the forms and phrases of the Christian religion, the dress of the white man, and a smattering of Anglo-Saxon education and ideas of government. Those who came the closest in contact with the whites, namely, those on the small plantations and those who worked around the "big house" on the large plantations, acquired more while the field hands on the large plantations were not as fortunate and retained more of their primitive culture and were forced to live a more animal-like existence. But the contact with white civilization on the whole was unnatural and artificial and of course the real culture of the whites was not acquired except by a few favored individuals. These were chiefly those of mixed blood who were chosen for the work which brought them in closer contact with their masters. It was from this class that the prewar freedmen chiefly came.

As a slave the Negro learned to work but he did so under compulsion, under conditions which made him hate manual labor. He was made to work whether he wanted to or not. Under slavery, in spite of his dislike for work, he became proficient industrially; many negroes became skilled mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, blacksmiths, and masons; others became expert as cooks, butlers, coachmen, maids, and laundresses; those working on the cotton plantations became expert in the raising of cotton. In fact, each class became economically productive, and when granted his freedom the Negro as a producer was well equipped. In one way slavery was a good thing for the negro—it taught him to work. Yet it taught him at the same time to hate work.

Slavery, however, affected the Negro in other than industrial ways. Family life under slavery was not developed even under the best conditions, for home life was un-

certain. Marriages were seldom performed; marriage ties were seldom held sacred; the master could sell a man's wife or a woman's husband or a parent's child; he could break up the family of his slave at will. Then, too, family ties were not even considered necessary. The masters themselves not only did not protect virtue in their female slaves, but too frequently did not respect it themselves. Hence it is no wonder that the Negro not only learned little family morality but also acquired little skill in the training of children. Furthermore, because his work was planned for him and his tasks assigned, he did not acquire self-control and the ability to plan things for himself and to make provision for the future. He did not have these traits developed when he came to America and slavery did not develop them for him.

Possibly the most demoralizing period in the history of the Negro was the brief but horrible time of Reconstruction, when the carpet-baggers from the North tried to organize the Negroes and teach them that they were the equals of the whites, and, by use of their votes, attempted to fill their own pockets at the expense of the southern whites. These carpet-baggers cared nothing for the Negroes; they merely saw in them a means of making money for themselves. The period of Reconstruction aroused the hatred of the South against the North far more than did the war itself; it caused the Southerners to misapprehend the real purpose of the North and to look upon all Northerners as scoundrels. At the same time race friction was increased. During slavery the relations between the average master and slave were on the whole friendly. When the carpet-baggers began to organize the Negroes and to arouse in them a hatred of their former masters, race friction rapidly developed. The reaction of the Southern whites found expression in the Ku Klux Klan and later in the practical disfranchisement of the negroes in most of the Southern States. But from the standpoint of the Negro probably the most serious aspect of the new condition was that it took him from his work, causing him to leave the cotton field and his other occupa-

tions, to loaf in town, and to look down upon manual labor.

Upon emancipation the Negro did not educate or train his children to become economically efficient. He did not wish his children to be obliged to work as he had worked. He wanted them to become educated, since in his view education was the key to social position. Instead of teaching them trades he tried to educate them along general lines, especially in northern schools, and consequently the second generation did not attain the economic efficiency of their parents. The slaves had been trained by the whites, but the younger generation received little if any training; they simply grew up creating a more serious problem than the preceding generation. Because they were not efficient they could not command good wages; they were not able to earn a good living and so slumped economically. Thirty years after the war the Negro was worse off than he was at the time he was given his freedom, for then he was efficient and the South needed and wanted him. But later he was less efficient and the whites had grown disgusted with him.

Economic Progress of the Negro.—The economic progress of the negro is not so difficult to estimate if we are able to get reliable statistics on the Negro to-day, for he began, upon emancipation, with practically nothing. A few had gained their freedom before emancipation and had accumulated some property, and the masters of some had started them out with small farms, but the bulk of the Negroes began life upon receiving their freedom at the economic zero point. *The Negro Year Book* for 1925–26 gives the following figures in regard to the economic progress of the race:

	1866	1926
Homes owned	12,000	700,000
Farms operated	20,000	1,000,000
Businesses conducted	2.100	70,000
Wealth accumulated	$20,000,000	$2,000,000,000

These figures show that the per capita wealth of the Negro has increased in sixty years from a little over four

dollars to nearly two hundred dollars. While this proportional increase has been phenomenal, far eclipsing that of the entire population, the actual increase in dollars has not been as much as that of the general average of the country. This progress has been irregular and halting since until recent years, the Negro did not hold his own in the economic advance of the nation. The decline in craftsmanship, with the passing of the plantation-trained Negro, was in part the cause of this. Then there was a scarcity of leaders and a general dearth of opportunity. A new group had been thrown out suddenly into a new situation under the unfavorable conditions of the Reconstruction period and it was only natural that at first the group did not find itself and at times slipped instead of advancing. The World War with its tremendous demand for cotton, steel and other products, with at the same time a diminution of the supply of laborers, especially with the cutting off of the immigration supply, brought prosperity to the nation and opportunity to the Negro. The War brought prosperity to the South and gave it a tremendous impetus towards economic independence and prosperity. In this the Negro naturally shared, but possibly even more important was the demand for labor in the northern industrial centers. When we consider all the problems and difficulties the economic progress of the Negro has been more than promising.

If the Negro continues at this rate of progress it will be only a matter of a few decades until his economic condition will compare much more favorably with that of the white man.

In all probability one of the chief reasons for the recent economic progress of the Negro has been the spread of industrial education among the black population. From the industrial schools for the Negro comes possibly our greatest promise that instead of the average Negro having practically nothing he will become fairly prosperous. When the Negro owns property and pays taxes, he not only commands greater respect but is in a position to obtain better schools and to solve his other problems. Also

when the Negro is industrious he is less apt to get into trouble.

Immigration has not seriously affected the Negro in the South. In the North the immigrant drove the Negro out of many occupations in much the same manner as he did the native white. He did this not by underbidding the Negro but by greater efficiency. He crowded the Negro out of such occupations as those of barber, waiter, janitor, and bell-boy. The Negro was pushed into unskilled labor which requires mere muscle, work which the white man did not want. It was not so much race prejudice as the ability of the white man to do his work better and more rapidly, that produced this result. The white man was more reliable and more efficient, and because of his capacity to form labor unions he became more powerful economically. Few unions will even now admit negroes, thus preventing them from entering the ranks of skilled labor, even if they are individually capable of doing so. Immigrants have not been so barred.

Immigration in any numbers did not go to the South. This was partly due to the low wages in the South and partly because of the fear that the immigrant will be placed upon the same social level as the Negro. Several Southern States have at various times attempted to divert a part of the immigrant stream into the South, but thus far they have not been very successful. Another factor which has affected the problem has been the recent migration of the southern Negro to northern industrial centers. This began about 1916 after immigration from Europe had stopped. War orders and army enlistments created a great shortage of labor, and wages rose. During the period from 1916 to 1918, approximately a half million Negroes moved from Southern to Northern States. While there has always been some migration of this kind, it has been of small proportions, except for the migration to Kansas in 1879. This time they came in droves to the northern industrial centers, fifty thousand coming to Chicago, either to work there or to scatter to other nearby cities.

The causes of this migration were both economic and

sentimental. In the South Negroes had received wages of from fifty to sixty cents a day, reaching to one dollar in extreme cases. With the rise in prices it became impossible to live on such wages. In addition, the cotton crop during these years was ravaged by the boll weevil, still further impoverishing the South. So when reports came of the high wages paid in the North many responded. The northern manufacturer was quick to take advantage of this source of cheap labor and encouraged it by advertising in negro papers in the South.

Among the sentimental motives were the desire to escape from southern social conditions, such as the lack of protection against mob violence, injustice in court, deprivation of the voting privilege, rough treatment on the part of "poor whites," and compulsory segregation in "Jim Crow" cars. These sentimental reasons were greatly stimulated by the negro press, especially by such papers as the *Chicago Defender*.

This migration finally became quite serious in the South and in some districts it became very difficult to harvest the crops; and steps were taken to stop it. Although the latter did not meet with much success, the demand fell off after the war was over and negro workers were no longer needed in the North; so many returned. In 1919 the South had a banner cotton crop, which was sold at top prices. This caused high wages to be paid to pick cotton, and thus hastened the return of colored workers.

In 1923 similar conditions tending to northern migration arose with increased business prosperity in the North and the return of the boll weevil in the South, and negro migration again started. The demand this time was especially great in the steel industries because of the change to the eight-hour day. Thousands again left the South, in some places crippling Southern industry. Again steps were taken to prevent it, in the way of assessing heavy fines upon any one caught soliciting negro labor, and even strong-arm methods were used in some instances to prevent negroes from boarding trains. But southern leaders have now begun to realize that the correct way to stop such

movements is not to use force, but to offer counter inducements; and in the future we will probably see better opportunities in the way of schools, wages, court treatment, and better living conditions generally given the Negro. While northern employers may desire colored labor in emergencies, they do not desire it permanently, and the Negro forms in many ways a greater problem in the North than he does in the South, where he is better understood, and where he finds both tasks and employers more congenial to his easy-going ways. Furthermore, working conditions and the climate are not as suitable in the North as in the South, and if the Negro can be given equal inducements in the South he will remain, not only through economic reasons, but from a desire to do so.

Occupations of Negroes.—The bulk of the negro workers have been employed in a comparatively small number of occupations. This is shown by the following United States Census figures for 1920:

DISTRIBUTION OF NEGRO WORKERS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATION

Occupational Division	*Per Cent of Negro Workers*
Agriculture, forestry, etc.	45.2
Domestic and personal service	22.1
Manufacturing and mechanical industries	18.4
Transportation	6.5
Trade	2.9
Professional service	1.7
Mining	1.5
Public service	1.0
Clerical occupations	0.8

While in 1920 the Negroes made up 9.9 per cent of the total population of the United States they formed 31.2 per cent of those engaged in domestic and personal service; 19.9 per cent of those engaged in agriculture; 6.9 per cent of those in manufacturing and mechanical pursuits; 4.8 per cent of those in trade and transportation and only 3.7 per cent of those in professional service. Throughout their entire history in America the Negroes have been engaged in largest numbers in agriculture. In 1920 75.2 per cent

of the negro farmers were tenants as compared with 31.7 per cent for the whites. Of the Negroes 24.6 per cent were owners and .2 per cent managers as compared with 67.1 per cent and 1.2 per cent respectively for the whites. While the value of the farms and farm property owned by the Negroes increased from $440,922,439 in 1910 to $800,598,-924 in 1920 the size of the farms decreased from an average of 79.1 acres in 1900 to 71.6 acres in 1920. But both of these figures are in large measure merely examples of the increase of farm values and the decrease of the size of farms in the South.

Under the present conditions the typical Negro rents his land instead of owning it; he usually rents it on shares, the white owner furnishing the land, tools, and seed, and the Negro, the labor; then the two share the crop, ordinarily half and half. In addition the white generally advances supplies, which are to be paid for at harvest time from the Negro's share. If the Negro rents land not under plantation management, he gets his supplies advanced to him by a merchant or cotton factor, in the manner and to the amount that his credit entitles him. Because of the ignorance and poor bargaining position of the Negro he is often the victim of fraudulent bookkeeping, but with most of them the general credit system is necessary. The exceptional Negro who has good credit can get cash advances or can lease ground at a definite cash rental, and if he is honest and industrious, he can soon, because of the richness of the soil, become independent. In fact, much of the land is so rich, especially along the Mississippi River, that it will make a crop in spite of the negligence of the Negro, and it is for this reason that the Negro is able to have advances made to him. But as yet few have become independent, although their number is slowly increasing. Where the renter is fitted for it another system of renting is in use, by which the renter furnishes the stock, tools, seed, and fertilizer and gives the landlord one-fourth or one-third of the crop. While a few are progressing, the bulk of the negro tenants are improvident or hopelessly held down by the system and do

not get ahead. It is just such conditions as this that the followers of Booker T. Washington are trying to overcome by making the Negro industrially efficient.

In industry the Negro has been handicapped and until very recent years did not have a real chance and even now he is a relatively unimportant factor. The manufacturers have not employed colored workers as a rule when white workers were available; they have hired Negroes either because they were cheaper or because white workers could not be hired. While Negroes are employed in large numbers in steel mills, packing houses, coal mines and a few other industries it is chiefly as common laborers or in a menial capacity. Seldom are they promoted to positions of responsibility because of difficulties encountered if they are placed over white workers. For similar reasons, they are kept out of trade and commerce as clerks, salesmen, etc., except again in a menial or subordinate capacity, for fear of antagonizing customers. As previously indicated the trade unions oppose Negroes entering industry. While the American Federation of Labor is opposed to the principle of racial discrimination a number of unions have regulations against taking in colored members and the locals of most of the others keep them out by simply not admitting them. The Amalgamated Clothing Workers union is one of the exceptions and not only admits Negroes but even solicits their membership. As a result many negro women are getting into this union and obtaining desirable positions at good pay. Some negro leaders discourage negro workers from joining the union for the reason that if both whites and Negroes receive the same pay the Negroes will not be employed. But since the World War the Negroes have obtained a foothold in industry, even if a precarious one; only the future will determine whether they will be able to hold it.

Negroes in Business.—According to *The Negro Year Book*[3] there were 70,000 Negroes engaged in business in 1926. The leading lines of business are indicated by the following figures, drawn from the same source:

[3] The Negro Year Book, 1925–1926, p. 390.

BUSINESS ENTERPRISES IN WHICH 200 OR MORE NEGROES ARE ENGAGED

Restaurant and lunch-room keepers	7,511
Grocers	6,339
Truck gardeners	6,242
Hucksters and peddlers	3,194
Butchers and meat dealers	3,009
Undesignated retail dealers	2,123
Coal and wood dealers	1,754
Pool-room keepers	1,582
Undertakers	1,558
Contractors and builders	1,454
Real estate dealers	1,369
Junk dealers	1,132
Hotel keepers and managers	1,020
Proprietors of transfer companies	990
Drug stores	910
General stores	884
Produce and provisions, dealers in	689
Candy and confectionery	573
Dairying	526
Fruit growers	345
Manufacturers and proprietors of clothing factories	340
Garage keepers and managers	309
Stock raising	296
Dry goods, fancy goods and notions	262
Furniture	256
Ice dealers	253
Jewelry	224
Saw and planing mill proprietors	219
Fruit dealers	216
Buyers and shippers of grain and live stock	214
Employment office keepers	213

Most of these enterprises are small. The Negroes' greatest success in business has been in insurance; and in 1924 there were also 73 negro banks, capitalized at $6,250,000 and doing a business of $100,000,000 a year.

Negroes in Professions.—In the professions the Negroes have been greatly handicapped not only in getting the necessary training but in obtaining the respect and patronage of their own race because of the former habit of looking up to the white man as a superior person. Here teachers represent nearly fifty per cent of the total, or 29,244 women and 6,319 men in 1920, not counting the 567 men and 496 women college presidents, professors, or teachers of music. Most of these have inadequate prepara-

tion and are wretchedly paid, college professors often receiving less than day laborers. Many of these who are trained are held in the profession only by missionary zeal and a sense of social responsibility.

The next largest group is that of clergymen, consisting of 19,343 men and 228 women in 1920, or almost one-fourth of the professional group. Some of these are able and are real leaders of their race, but as a group they are inadequately trained and often densely ignorant, a condition, however, not entirely confined to the colored clergy. The majority of lawyers, on the other hand, are well trained, but while Negroes apparently thrive in the ministry, lawyers are particularly handicapped. Since judges and juries are usually white, colored attorneys seldom appear in court and are usually restricted to office practice.

The stage offers far greater opportunities, although here also there are difficulties and limitations; yet colored entertainers have in many instances been extremely successful. Artists like Roland Hayes have not only brought renown and profit to themselves but have done much for their race in winning the respect of the educated and cultured whites. The tragedy of course is that these same artists are constantly open to insults on the part of the uneducated and uncultured. Medicine probably offers the greatest rewards and opportunities of any of the professions. It probably includes the best trained of the negro professional group and is the only group which maintains standards which are comparable to the standards of the white groups. Dentistry also offers almost similar opportunities and contains many highly trained practitioners.

While negro professional men as a rule can only expect the patronage of their own race, the field for them seems to be steadily developing. Negroes themselves are learning to patronize their own professionals and at the same time they are beginning to realize that it is for their interests to patronize their own business men. Along this line we can see the greatest hope for the economic future of the Negro.

Negro Education.—The educational progress has been more rapid and the results more satisfactory than the economic progress of the Negro; yet there is endless opportunity for improvement.

When he came to this country the Negro was in varying degrees of savagery and barbarism. During slavery he acquired many of the habits of civilization but little formal education was given to him. It has been estimated that at emancipation not over 5 per cent of the Negroes were literate and in 1866 not over 10 per cent. In 1920 the United States Census returned 77.1 per cent as literate and *The Negro Year Book* for 1925–1926 estimates the per cent literate in 1926 at 90 per cent. *The Negro Year Book*[4] also gives the following statistics in regard to the educational progress of the Negro since emancipation:

	1866	1883	1903	1926
Per cent Literate .	10	30	56	90
Colleges and Normal Schools ...	15	120	425	500
Students in Public School	10,000	817,000	1,577,000	1,736,000
Teachers in all Schools	600	16,000	28,600	36,900
Property for Higher Education	$60,000	$7,000,000	$15,000,000	$40,000,000
Annual Expenditures for Education	$700,000	$5,500,000	$10,000,000	$37,000,000
Raised by Negroes.	$80,000	$500,000	$900,000	$3,000,000

The most noticeable improvement has been in the increase of the percentage of literacy. The amount of money spent in negro education and the amount of money invested in school property have kept pace with the increase in the number of pupils. Yet the amount of money raised by the Negroes themselves in proportion to that raised by the whites is still very small, although the ratio is steadily becoming greater. In a few sections of the South the Negroes are supplementing by subscription the funds appropriated for negro schools. If, however, we consider the amount of money spent on each negro in the public

[4] *Negro Year Book,* 1913–1914, pp. 2–4; 1916–1917, p. 1, and 1925–1926, p. 1.

schools, we shall find it small in comparison with the amount spent on the white child. In one way we cannot blame the white voters for not appropriating more for negro schools, because the whites pay nearly all of the taxes. Yet, as Page says,[5] an uneducated negro is a greater problem than an educated one. He is more affected by crime, vice, and poverty.

Two great difficulties confront negro education—lack of efficient teachers and lack of equipment. It is impossible to get whites to teach in negro schools in appreciable numbers because of the attendant social ostracism. It has been considered inadvisable in the South to employ white teachers for negro children because of the dangers of racial antagonism and misunderstanding. Negroes themselves are now preferring teachers of their own race. Until very recently there have been few capable negro teachers, for upon emancipation only a small percentage of the Negroes were even literate, and in the past many of the negro teachers have been barely able to read and write. In time this problem will be eliminated. As a rule any sort of shack is considered good enough for the negro school, and benches of any style or stage of dilapidation sufficient for equipment. In many places absolutely no equipment in the way of maps, charts and globes is provided and where it is furnished it is usually old, antiquated and insufficient. The pay of the teachers has been so poor that it has not attracted the best prepared Negroes. Until this condition is remedied we cannot expect good teachers. Another hindrance is the short session which often lasts only from three to five months in a year—sometimes only a few weeks.

In general where the percentage of negroes is the largest the ratio of expenditures for negro education is the smallest; Mississippi's 52.3 per cent of negro population in 1920 was allotted only 20 per cent of the educational fund; South Carolina with 51.4 per cent allowed only 11 per cent; Florida with 34.1 per cent spent 8 per cent; Georgia with

[5] Page, Thomas Nelson, *The Negro, the Southerner's Problem*, p. 297. (Scribner's, 1904).

41.7 per cent allowed 14 per cent; Alabama with 38.4 per cent spent 9 per cent; whereas the District of Columbia with 25.2 per cent Negro spent 26 per cent of the educational fund on them; West Virginia's 5.9 per cent received 5 per cent of the funds and Kentucky's 9.8 per cent received 8 per cent. The following table of expenditures per child tells the same story:

EDUCATIONAL EXPENDITURES PER CHILD; 1923-1924

State	*White*	*Colored*
Alabama	$26.57	$3.81
Arkansas	13.36	6.48
District of Columbia	76.00	64.40
Florida	41.01	7.33
Georgia	25.84	5.78
Kentucky	16.60	15.40
Louisiana	33.73	5.48
Mississippi	25.95	5.62
North Carolina	25.31	7.52
Oklahoma	33.08	21.04
South Carolina	27.88	2.74
Tennessee	21.02	11.88
Texas	31.77	20.24
Virginia	40.27	10.47

Too few teachers are employed in the colored schools. In the 16 Southern States the average number of pupils per teacher in 1923-1924 was 56 for the negro schools as against 36 for white schools. In all matters of expenditures, pay of teachers, equipment, length of term, etc., the city schools are in general superior to rural schools.

Various foundations aid in maintaining and advancing negro education; of these the Julius Rosenwald Fund is aiding in the construction of rural school buildings for Negroes, giving between 1912 and June 30, 1924, $1,805,177 towards a total of $9,758,840, of which Negroes contributed $2,249,044, whites $476,898, and public funds $5,227,721. With this 594 one-teacher, 907 two-teacher, 369 three-teacher, 225 four-teacher, 90 five-teacher, 110 six-teacher and 46 seven-teacher or larger schools were erected. Other foundations such as the General Education Board, the Jeans Fund, the Phelps-Stokes Fund, the Carnegie Corporation, the John F. Slater Fund, the Daniel Hand Fund

and the Peabody Educational Fund aid other phases of negro education. While negro education is still sadly neglected much progress has been made and negro children in the South are slowly obtaining better opportunities of securing an education.

During slavery, education of the Negro was not fostered; in fact, it was forbidden by law in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, and South Carolina, and discouraged in all other Southern States, for fear that education would foster dissatisfaction among the Negroes in regard to their position. The household servants were frequently taught the rudiments of an education, enough at least to enable them to discharge their duties efficiently. The field hands were not so fortunate, however, and were seldom educated.

During the period of Reconstruction educators went to the South from the North, influenced by missionary zeal to help educate the Negro. While fired by the same spirit which has sent missionaries to the foreign field, they probably caused more harm than good. They too frequently tried to teach the Negro social equality, even practising it by mingling and associating with the Negroes themselves. They tried to teach the Negro too many of the "frills" of education, like Latin and Greek, instead of giving him the education which he could use in his every-day life. This caused negro education to become discredited in the eyes of the Southern whites, who paid the taxes, and as a result money was not voted for negro schools. It has only been since the education of the Negro has been conducted along practical lines that the whites of the South have taken an interest in it. At first the funds were raised in the North, largely as a missionary enterprise. During the last few years practical courses have been offered in negro schools, especially the high schools, including the industrial subjects and domestic science. Under the latter are included not only cooking and sewing, but the canning and preserving of fruits and vegetables.

The whole modern trend of negro education has been away from higher education fitting for the professions, entry to which has been difficult for the Negro, if not impos-

sible. The aim is, instead, to fit for actual industrial life and efficient home-keeping by teaching trades. These include carpentering, bricklaying, masonry, paper-hanging, black-smithing, dairying, and agriculture, thus fitting the Negro for a place in life where he can become economically prosperous. Some negro leaders, particularly Dr. Du Bois have criticised and opposed this tendency on the ground that it tends towards class discrimination and the training of the Negro merely for positions involving manual labor. The demand for negro doctors, lawyers, dentists, and other professional classes is, however, slowly increasing, although as yet the Negroes themselves prefer the white professional man because of their greater confidence in his professional ability. As this demand increases greater opportunities will be opened up for the Negro along professional lines. In the past many negroes have obtained college and professional training in northern colleges and universities and have been unable to make use of such training because of the lack of a demand for their services. Now this demand is increasing.

In the Northern States, because of the small number of negroes and the less acute racial feeling, there have been no separate schools, except in one or two states like Missouri, and a few towns, such as Kansas City, Kansas. The Negroes have enjoyed the same educational opportunities, but have not been in an equally favorable position to take advantage of them. In the South, however, the education of the Negro is an aspect of the race question which is quite serious. Recently there seems to be not only greater response to educational opportunities on the part of the Negro, but also greater appreciation of their value on the part of the white, and as a result much greater progress is being made. If the Negro can increase his economic prosperity, negro education can be easily improved.

Higher Education.—While there are a large number of so-called colleges and universities for Negroes, most of them are colleges in name only and have few if any college students, being secondary schools in reality. The present tendency among negro leaders and the foundations which aid

negro education is to reduce the number of the colleges giving college work and not only to improve those which do but to increase the number of college students. While all of these schools were at first manned with white presidents and teachers the tendency now is to replace these with negroes. But the number of negroes with sufficient educational training to man these schools is at present inadequate. As a result the negro schools at present cannot prepare their own professional groups adequately, although Howard University in particular is doing excellent work in this line, and negroes in general are forced to attend white universities. Most northern universities and professional schools do not discriminate against them, except possibly by ignoring them in class and not giving them needed attention and assistance.

The Political Condition.—Under slavery the Negro of course had no political rights other than protection against abuse, and even here his rights were very limited. It was a crime willfully to kill a slave but not to flog him, and in most states to kill him accidentally or to maltreat him was not a punishable offense. The law protected him much the same as to-day it protects animals from cruelty. As to voting privileges, he had none in the South[6] and but few in the North; in fact, out of the thirty-four states which constituted the Union in 1861, twenty-nine excluded negroes from the right of franchise by constitutional provision. In the other five—Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts and New York—the negroes were not only few in number but of a high standard of education and industry.

By the adoption of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States the American people committed probably the worst political blunder in the history of this country. This amendment was adopted in order to give the Negro the right to defend himself by means of the ballot. But the Negro was unable to appreciate the value and significance of the ballot; as a result he became merely

[6] There were a few exceptions to this; free negroes could vote in North Carolina up until 1835.

the tool of corrupt politicians. This fact explains the prevalence of so much corruption during the period of Reconstruction. The majority of the whites were disfranchised for a time because of taking part in the Civil War against the Federal Government, and the right of the ballot was held by the ignorant negro who had no idea how to use it. This increased race friction and probably injured the negro as much as it did the white; in fact, it is an open question which of the two has been injured the more by the Fifteenth Amendment. So acute was the problem and so great the abuse of the ballot by the Negro, that the southern whites were compelled to take steps to deprive him of it. This deprivation took two forms—force of intimidation, and political disfranchisement. At first violence and fraud were used openly, because it was deemed that the situation warranted such action. This condition lasted until 1890, when Mississippi took the first step towards the disfranchisement of the Negro by adopting a literacy test for voters. While this applied to both colored and white voters, it affected the colored chiefly because of their greater illiteracy.

Other states went still further, following the lead of Louisiana, and adopted the so-called "grandfather" clauses, making the privilege of voting dependent upon the ability to read and write, unless one were a lineal descendant of a man who voted prior to 1867. Other states require the payment of taxes. Georgia by a cumulative poll-tax law which requires back poll-taxes to be paid has probably the most effective disfranchisement provisions, although there is no discrimination as between black and white. In Tennessee the prepayment of a poll-tax is necessary for voting, and as a result the bulk of the Negroes do not vote, considering it not worth the payment of the tax. Texas also has a poll-tax qualification for voting, requiring the presentation of a poll-tax receipt at the polls. In addition to this Texas had a Democratic primary, in which only whites could take part.[7]

[7] Just recently—1927—the United States Supreme Court has declared that a negro could not be debarred from taking part in this because of his color.

Some of these provisions have been upheld by the Supreme Court of the United States, because technically they do not violate the Fifteenth Amendment, but the "grandfather" clauses of the constitutions of Oklahoma and Maryland have been declared unconstitutional, and similar provisions in other state laws have expired because of time limitations. While these laws very effectively debar most Negroes from voting, the Negro can qualify under all of them; in fact, it would probably be impossible to frame a test acceptable to the Supreme Court which some of the negroes could not ultimately meet.

On the whole, the effect of these disfranchisement clauses has been good, for they have disfranchised the ignorant, shiftless, and irresponsible negro, whose ballot was a corrupting element in politics. Although they have undoubtedly debarred in one way or another many who are able to vote intelligently, they have had, in the main, a beneficial effect. However, any law, such as the Louisiana law, which does not apply equally to both races is not fair and just. If the Negro is disfranchised it ought to be by a method which would apply to both races, such as a literacy test, a property qualification, or a tax-paying requirement. Such provisions are as effective as the others and eliminate the vote of the ignorant and shiftless white as well as that of the ignorant and shiftless negro. If the country comes to the conclusion that the Fifteenth Amendment was a mistake, that amendment should be repealed as a whole rather than nullified by state legislation. If the Negro can qualify the same as the white man for voting, he proves that he is worthy of the ballot.

One bad feature of the application of the literacy test to the Negro alone is that it supplies a reason to the white politician for not giving the Negro as good educational facilities as are given the white; in other words, it tends to discourage negro education, for the chief political aim is to eliminate not merely the ignorant negro vote but the entire Negro vote. On the whole, the granting of suffrage to the Negro has been a complete failure. The ballot should not have been given to the Negroes as a race; it should have

been held as an inducement for progress by being granted gradually, that it, as soon as they qualified for it by being able to read and write, by holding a certain amount of property, or by the payment of taxes. Then as soon as they qualified, they would have known how to use the voting power and would not have formed a dangerous element in politics; they would have gained suffrage gradually, not in sufficient numbers to control politics.

Negro Problems.—1. *Poverty and Pauperism.*—Under economic progress we have considered the poor economic condition of the Negro, with the causes which produced it and some of the effects upon other phases of the race problem. We saw that Negroes as a class possess little property, and that the majority are not far removed from absolute dependence. We have no reliable statistics as to the exact or even approximate amount of pauperism among the colored people. In the South most of the paupers are negroes. In some sections nearly all the paupers are colored. Until very recently the Negro has been able to earn only low wages and has had few opportunities for the accumulation of any surplus. Then combined with this are the indolence, shiftlessness, ignorance, and untrained condition of the Negro. The low standard of living of the Negro is the most serious aspect of the situation, for pauperism is only an outgrowth. The Negro is contented to live on a much lower plane than the white, because he has not realized the need of living on a higher one. There is less incentive to reach this higher state on account of the few opportunities he has for advancement. The economic standard of living must be raised before the present poverty-stricken condition of the Negro can be remedied. To raise this standard the Negro must become industrially more productive and efficient. But until this standard can be raised poverty will be an ever present problem.

2. *Crime.*—In order to draw a comparison between the criminal tendencies of the white and colored races, let us glance at the following table, based upon figures of the U. S. Census Bureau:

	Whites	*Negroes*
Prisoners in the United States Jan. 1, 1923....	73,549	34,178
Commitments to these prisons in 1923.....	266,857	83,399
Prisoners to 100,000 population, 1923.....	77.6	325.4
Commitments to 100,000 population, 1923.....	281.4	797.1

While these and similar statistics all point to greater criminality in the negro population than in the white, such statistics must not be taken as final proof of the greater criminality of the Negro as a race. The past history and environmental conditions of the Negro must be considered. Upon emancipation the Negro was ignorant, untrained for freedom and thrown into a strange and often hostile environment. The Negro has seldom, if ever, received the same consideration in regard to arrests, release on bond, trials, sentences, pardons, probation and parole as has the white man. This has been particularly true in the North and West where judges have understood the Negro less than in the South. The Negro because of ignorance does not know the law or understand his rights, and so is arrested and kept in jail on slighter evidence or suspicion and is more apt to be convicted on slight evidence, especially in regard to the more serious offences or where the injured party is white. Because of his poverty, as well as his color, he is less able to employ expert counsel to defend him in court or help him make use of the technicalities which might be in his favor.

In regard to punishment, not only are Negroes more apt to be sentenced than whites but their sentences are more severe than those meted out to whites for the same offences. The average length of sentences in the United States in 1910 was 17.4 months for Negroes as against 5.2 months for whites. Fewer Negroes are able to pay fines, and so help swell the prison population. While minor offences by Negroes are often overlooked in the South, this laxness also extends to whites, but is balanced by the longer sentences for both races when offences are punished. Then the system of debt slavery and peonage practised in the South, even down to recent years as was evidenced by the exposure in Georgia in 1921, and the actual practice of some of the

Southern States in regard to their probation and parole laws not only make the Negro realize the injustice and hopelessness of his position, but these methods tend to make hardened criminals out of what otherwise would have been mild offenders.

In the North the Negro lives in cities where the temptations to commit crime are greater and is also compelled to live in the poorest sections as a rule, often in close proximity to vicious and criminal neighborhoods. Also in the South the negro districts are generally in the worst parts of the cities, are poorly policed, badly lighted and are defective in regard to housing, sanitation and living conditions in general. Low wages and general poverty also add their temptations and difficulties. Naturally all of these conditions tend to increase crime among Negroes.

Then in addition to the bad social environment, especially in our cities, it must be remembered that the bulk of the negro women go out to work, thus neglecting their families and adding to juvenile delinquency among their children. Where the Negroes live, the juvenile court system is not as well developed and fewer potential criminals are saved from the ranks of these early delinquents, for the South is very backward in the development of the juvenile court. Negro parents have not had the experience and education to properly train their children and it will take several generations to overcome this defect. Then fewer colored defectives are confined, which indirectly contributes to the criminal population.

So, while the Negro has a higher criminal rate, the causes are environmental rather than hereditary. There is nothing to indicate any greater innate criminal tendency in the Negro than in any other race. In fact, if there was any racial difference here it might even be in favor of the negro because of his greater docility and submissiveness.

Lynching is a phase of punishment for negro criminality more damaging to the reputation of the white man than to that of the Negro. It began with the whipping of negroes for minor offenses, such as stealing, and running away, be-

fore the time of emancipation.[8] Since then more cruel methods have come into use, until hanging and burning at the stake have come to be the favorite methods of execution. The statement is often made that lynching is for the one crime rape, but such is not the case, and indeed far from the truth; for less than one-fourth of the lynching of negroes is for assaults upon women. Lynchings are not limited to the colored race, nor are they confined to the Southern States. Of the sixty-seven persons lynched in 1915, a typical year (thirteen of whom were white and fifty-four colored), eleven (ten colored and one white) were charged with rape; sixteen (four white and twelve colored) with murder; nine (three white and six colored) with killing officers of the law; three with wounding officers of the law; a family of four—father, son, and two daughters—with clubbing an officer of the law; three with poisoning mules; two with stealing hogs; two (white) with disregarding warnings of night riders; three with insulting women; two with entering women's rooms; two with wounding a man; one with stealing meat; two with burglary; one with robbery; one with stealing cotton; one with stealing a cow; two with furnishing ammunition to man resisting arrest; one (white) with beating wife and child; one with being accessory to the burning of a barn.[9] All these crimes deserved punishment, but hardly lynching.

With regard to the crime of rape, especially under the revolting circumstances which sometimes attend it, one can understand but not condone the taking of law into one's own hands; the temptation is terribly strong, and people lose control of themselves under such conditions. But this sudden and extreme punishment of the lesser crimes seems to have no justification whatever. To be sure, the action of the law is often slow and sometimes justice miscarries, but law enforcement should be improved, not nullified by

[8] Lynching can also be traced back to the unsettled Revolutionary war times, when it was applied to undesirables, especially Tories, in the way of tar and feathers, flogging and at times banishment and even death. With the establishment of a stable government this practice disappeared.

[9] *The Negro Year Book*, 1916–17, p. 338.

ultra-legal measures. Instances have happened where prisoners convicted by law and waiting the execution of the death penalty have been taken from the hands of the law and lynched. The most unfortunate thing about lynching is that it does not stop the crime which it intends to punish; it often increases crime by advertising it and—what is still worse—brutalizes the community.

Sutherland summarizes the offences causing the 3,158 lynchings (both white and colored) between 1889 and 1921, as follows:[10]

CAUSES OF LYNCHING, 1889–1921

Crime	*Per Cent*
Homicide	38.2
Felonious assault	5.4
Attacks on women	16.4
Attempted attacks on women	6.6
Robbery and theft	7.3
Insults to whites	1.6
All others	24.4
Total	100.0

Lynching has caused negroes as a rule to hide the guilty person and to sympathize with him rather than to give him up. They look upon lynching as an attack upon the race rather than as a punishment of the individual.

Statistics of lynchings vary because of the difficulty of getting accurate information. Three organizations have gathered such statistics, *The Chicago Tribune*, Tuskegee Institute, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Reliable figures before 1885 are not available, but since then there have been something over 4,000 lynchings in the United States. According to the sources indicated, the yearly averages for five-year periods are as follows:

Five-Year Period	*Average Number of Lynchings per Year*
1885–1889	151
1890–1894	169
1895–1899	140
1900–1904	104
1905–1909	77
1910–1914	65
1915–1919	71
1920–1924	47

10 Sutherland, E. H., *Criminology*, p. 241, 1924, Lippincott.

While the number of lynchings per year fluctuates, there has been a steady decline, reaching the unusually low figure of 16 in 1924. This decline has, however, been the greatest in the lynching of whites and in the North and West. After the World War there was a temporary increase but recent figures show a continuation of the decline.

Various explanations have been given for the existence of lynching. Among these are the slowness and the lack of confidence in the courts and the inefficiency of local county government in the South. These may be valid explanations but are of course hard to verify. It is also claimed that mobs are organized and led by the ignorant and vicious elements. This in general is probably correct, but at times prominent citizens are found in the mobs. Chivalry towards woman in not wanting to humiliate her in a court trial is often given as a reason but is probably only an after-thought. The dullness of life in the average small town of the South and the craving for excitement have been suggested and may be a factor. At all events, lynching, especially in our Southern States has been a habit, which fortunately is now slowly dying out.

Southern leaders, as well as all sound social thinkers, are aware of the need of wiping out this blot on American civilization and public opinion is now being steadily aroused by the press, the pulpit and the schools to the need of punishing crime according to law and order instead of by violent and extra legal means. Attempts are being made to speed up our courts and to compel sheriffs and police officials to defend their prisoners, even at the risk of their own lives. In recent years much progress has been made along this line, especially in defending and rescuing prisoners who have been attacked. So in time we may outlive this menace to our civilization.

3. *Immorality and Vice.*—No reliable statistics can be given concerning immorality and vice, although some statisticians have attempted to show that between one-fourth and one-fifth of the births among negroes are illegitimate. Immorality flourishes among the colored population far more than among the white, not only because of the condi-

tions existing among the negroes during the times of slavery, but also because of their past history in Africa, where the climate tended to the preservation of those with a high birth-rate and thus perhaps developed a greater fecundity in the Negro as a race. This, joined with his weaker will power and greater temptation under present conditions, naturally produce higher rates of irregularity and vice.

4. *The Mulatto.*—The mulatto furnishes us with possibly the most complicated and serious phase of the whole race problem. In the beginning it must be frankly recognized that there has been very little intermarriage between the races; in fact, it is now forbidden by law in all the Southern and many of the Northern and Western States. There was some intermarriage in colonial days between low-class white servant girls and negro men, but there has been almost none in recent years and it never has been of any real importance. Practically all crossings have been illegal, and they have almost all been between white males and colored females. In slave days many white slave-owners cohabited with their female slaves, especially with those of lighter color. And, strange as it may seem, white youths of all classes in the Southern States, not only during slave days but even down to the present time, have thought nothing of such relationships. These again have been attracted to colored women who have had some white blood. It is said even to-day that a good-looking mulatto girl is not safe from white molestation in the South.

During slave days the mulattoes, partly because of their greater attractiveness and partly because their masters recognized some obligation on account of blood relationship, were given the superior positions about the "big house," where they not only were better fed and clothed but became familiar with the white man's culture and acquired greater ambitions to rise and succeed. From similar reasons the free Negroes were largely mulattoes, being freed by their masters, who often were their fathers.

With such a heredity, both physical and cultural, it is no wonder that it is the mulatto who has been the cause of

most of the race friction. Whereas the bulk of the black Negroes accepted their position of inferiority, the mulatto has been less willing to do so, knowing that he was descended from the white race as well as the colored. He resented being forced to accept the status of the lower group. On the other hand the whites could not admit him to their group for this would lead to the absorption of the Negro race and eventually bring about a mulatto race. So the white has forced the mulatto back into the black group. The mulattoes, especially those in the North, not only often felt restless and dissatisfied but even looked down upon and at times even despised the ignorant black members of their own race. Some would protest against their position and become agitators and friction would thus naturally arise.

While some of the lighter mulattoes have crossed the line and joined the white group, the great bulk could not and have been forced to remain with the lower group. For the Negroes this has been good for it has furnished them with leaders. While at first some were ostracized by the blacks because of their irregular parentage, there has now developed a greater respect for those of lighter color till now one's social status among the Negroes to a certain extent depends upon the degree of whiteness. Mulattoes are especially preferred as wives, and because of this preference the race will tend to become even lighter, although the lightest are still crossing the color line and becoming lost. Yet just now there is developing a tendency to remain in the group, not only because of racial solidarity but because of the greater opportunity for leadership.

With the recent movement for the betterment of race relations, by allowing the two races to develop their civilizations side by side but independent of each other, the mulatto is finding his place. Instead of being a misfit and a serious problem, if not a menace to harmonious relationships between the races, he is thus coming into his own as the social and professional leader of his race.

Future of the Negro Problem.—So far as any solution or any definite constructive plan of action is concerned, the negro race problem is the most difficult one facing the coun-

try to-day. We are obliged to admit that, as far as can be seen now, there is no immediate solution of the problem. At best it can only be alleviated, the race friction made less keen, and the dangers less threatening. But even here there is no uniformity of opinion; the differences depend largely upon the section of country which the student calls his home.

A variety of programs have from time to time been offered for the solution of the American race question, some of which have been suggestive and more or less workable while others have been visionary and impracticable. Some have recommended a *laissez faire* policy on the theory that in time the problem will solve itself by the Negro race dying out, some citing as evidence census figures showing that the percentage of negroes in the United States is steadily falling off. While the percentage is growing smaller, the number is steadily increasing, so there is little hope in this plan. While the white man's diseases, such as tuberculosis and pneumonia, and the environmental conditions are causing a high mortality among Negroes, signs of an increased resistance and greater adaptation are now developing. In any event such a policy offers nothing in the way of a solution.

Sentimentalists among the whites and some members of the colored race have at various times demanded social and political equality for the races. It is advanced against this that the races are not equal, that the whites have back of them thousands of years of achievement and civilization and that no legislation can make the two races equal. Political and social equality can only come after the two races show similar records of culture and achievement. Social equality would lead to intermarriage, it is argued, or else there would be no equality. This the white race is as yet not prepared to accept, especially since many negro characteristics, like the dark pigment, thick lips and kinky hair, are generally considered dominant and would be liable to be inherited in the general ratio of three to one over the white characteristics.

A plan of colonization was advocated by Thomas Jeffer-

son and has often been proposed by various men since that time. It has been opposed in the past on grounds of expense. Now it is impossible because we should be unable to find any place to send the Negroes. All the available territory of the world has been taken over by different nations, and we have no possessions of our own which are suitable for the purpose. At one time this plan would perhaps have been the best method of dealing with the problem, but that time has long since passed; in fact, it probably had passed before colonization was even seriously considered. Then, even if it were possible it would be hardly just to deport millions of people who not only were native-born Americans but who had much white blood in their veins; America is the only home they know.

Some Suggested Solutions.—Among the more serious programs suggested for the solution of the American race problem have been:

1. *Industrial Education.*—The most plausible, and certainly the most workable, solution—if we can call any program a solution—is that of industrial education. This was the plan originated at Hampton Institute, in Virginia, but popularized by the late Booker T. Washington, who built up Tuskegee Institute, in Alabama, so successfully upon this idea. Washington argued that under existing conditions the attempt to give higher education to the negroes was misdirected energy, because the Negro could make no practical use of this form of education. The only sensible way to educate the Negro, he said, was to educate his hands, so that he could become industrially efficient and economically independent. With economic independence the Negro would gain the respect of the white man; consequently race friction would diminish. If the Negro could produce he would receive good wages and therefore would be able to make better provision for his family. Thus the standard of living of the Negro would rise. Other schools have been founded upon this plan and it is now receiving wide support. Most of the Southern States have established mechanical and industrial colleges and normal schools for the colored people. In addition there are a large number of

smaller private institutions; Alabama, for example, had twenty-eight in 1916. Under industrial education the Negroes would be able to become efficient farmers, carpenters, blacksmiths, bricklayers, wheelwrights, plasterers, machinists, plumbers, tailors, printers, cooks, etc., and thus they would be able to build a foundation for future progress. While this was for a time the most generally accepted program for action, upon the death of Mr. Washington there was no leader to take his place and the popularity of the movement has declined and we do not hear as much about this program as formerly. Du Bois and others always opposed it because it might tend to make a manual-worker caste out of the Negro race.

2. *Segregation.*—Another proposed solution is segregation, that is, the separation of Negroes from whites, in order that each race may live unmolested by the other. There is, however, considerable difference of opinion in regard to the best form of segregation; whether segregation shall be by states, by counties, by towns, or only by different sections of the same town. Each of these plans offers peculiar advantages and difficulties. With state segregation the first problem would be as to what state or states would be chosen; then what steps would be taken to keep the Negroes in, and the whites out. This plan is objected to on the ground that the Negroes when separated from the whites lose the inspiration of their presence and quickly sink into barbarism. The present condition in Liberia, Haiti, and Santo Domingo is given as proof of this. The same arguments are valid to a less degree in regard to county and township segregation; at the same time the advantages which would be derived amount to less. If the Negroes are herded into certain sections of counties or towns, these sections will be the least desirable and will not receive the same improvements as the white sections; the result would be the formation of slum districts. Moreover this is the condition which practically prevails to-day, for the colored people as a rule live in definite sections in our cities and towns; these sections are unkempt, unsanitary, and unsafe; they are responsible to a large degree for the abnormal

amount of poverty, crime, and immorality found among the negroes. In fact, it is argued that this is the very condition from which we wish to escape. Against the proposal of segregation the argument is advanced that the South needs the Negro and the Negro needs the South; that the white man needs the Negro to work for him, and the Negro needs the white man for moral support. The supporters of this plan answer that segregation need not be rapid or even arbitrary, but that voluntarily and gradually the Negroes should be encouraged to move into districts by themselves, and the whites should be encouraged to move out. The difficulty with such a solution is the grave doubt as to whether it ever would be carried out unless it were made compulsory; and if made so, it would cause much hardship and bitterness. While segregation may ultimately be the solution, it is at present chiefly a matter of theory.

3. *Caste.*—A caste system is the solution according to the viewpoint of the average Southerner and is the practice at present in the South. It is based upon the belief that the Negro is inferior as a race; that he is only halfway between the animals and the white man; that in consequence he is fitted by nature only to be a servant and to do the rougher, heavier work of the world; that he never will be able to catch up with the white man, and because of this, social equality—or any policy which would tend towards absorption—is impossible; and that, therefore, the only way to handle the Negro is to treat him as an inferior, allowing him to mingle with the white man but not as an equal; and that the white man needs him for menial tasks in order to devote his own time to higher endeavors. At present this is possibly the only attitude that we can take towards the Negro where he exists in any great numbers, but it is by no means a solution; it is the very condition which we are attempting to solve. We constantly hear the remark, "keep the Negro in his place," and according to the caste idea that place is beneath the white man. Absorption or amalgamation of any kind is impossible, and the Negro must be kept in his place; but that place need not necessarily be beneath the feet of the white man. The black

may be allowed, so far as his abilities permit, to carve out his own place, provided that place is distinct and separate from that of the white man. Under present conditions of colored inferiority, educational, moral, and industrial, the caste viewpoint is almost the only attitude we can take towards the Negro—that is, a sane and sensible caste attitude —but as a permanent solution it is impossible, for it does not remove the present difficulties.

4. *Local Option.*—A local-option plan was offered by Thomas Nelson Page, who suggested that since there are as many problems as there are communities, let each community work out its own salvation. On the whole this is a sane way of looking at the matter, yet the question arises, will every community solve its race problem? Is the average community able to do so wisely? Certainly this plan is not radical and will cause no commotion—but the question is whether it will do anything.

5. *Bi-Racial Development.*—This is offered by some as a program for action and by others not so much as a solution but as an explanation of what is actually taking place and as a prediction of what the future will bring forth. Instead of segregating the Negroes into any given district or of drawing the caste lines in regard to privileges and rights or even training the Negroes for manual labor, the two races should be left alone to build up their own civilizations side by side but yet separate from each other. The proposal is that the Negroes be permitted to live by themselves have their own stores, banks, theatres, schools, doctors, lawyers, judges, policemen, editors, write their own books and songs and be permitted to advance as far as they are able or care to. This already is the situation to a great extent in Harlem, which is really a negro city of over 100,000 population in the heart of New York City, and a section largely owned and run by Negroes in an orderly manner. Chicago is developing a colored city of its own, only of a different order because of the different industrial and social situation. This bi-racial movement not only has back of it the leaders of the colored people but is favored by many of the white leaders as well. While this seems to be a

possible program for the near future it may not be final; a combination of some or all of these programs or of others may finally be the outcome. In any case the question naturally arises in regard to what will happen if the Negro advances in culture and achievement and approximates that of the white race? Also, what will become of our feelings of antipathy and repulsion if the Negro continues to get lighter in color and the whites grow darker; and when and where will the race lines break down?

A factor which must always be considered is that of racial intermixture. Reuter concludes his work on "The American Race Problem" with these words:

"As a result of intermixture the Negroes as such ultimately will disappear from the population and the race problem will be solved. But in the meanwhile there will be the problem of defining relations in terms tolerable to the members of each racial group."

One thing apparently now seems certain: the problem which has for years been looked upon as our most hopeless and insoluble is now opening up. We seem to be moving. What will be the ultimate outcome only time can tell. It perhaps illustrates the old refrain, "I do not know where I am going, but I am on my way."

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Part IV

EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS

CHAPTER XI

EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY

The Family a Social Unit.—The primary function of the family—in fact, the leading reason for its existence—has always been to bring children into the world and to rear them. The protecting of the offspring by the parent is, however, a function not confined to man, but is one found among practically all the higher animals. Many animals so train their young as to make them able to cope with life and to care for themselves. This training, to be sure, is generally given by only one parent—the mother—but this is also true of man in the earlier stages of his existence. But from this primary function of reproduction and protection other functions have sprung until the family has become a social center and, as many sociologists assert, the unit of society. This aspect of family life has become so prominent that many people look with alarm upon the present-day tendency for the family to lose some of its importance. The family has been likewise the center of intellectual and moral instruction. Formerly these activities were much more important than they are to-day, for the family has given over much of this responsibility to other agencies.

Almost all of the interests, customs, and problems of society originate with the family. Division of labor originated in the family with the specialization of duties between man and woman. Even nowadays the occupation one chooses depends largely upon the occupation of one's parent and upon home training. It is the same with religion; one is likely to follow the religious views of one's parents. Moreover, we find that this has always been the case, and that it was even more so in the past than in mod-

ern times. Property to-day descends through the family, and has nearly always done so, although in many primitive groups it descended through the female line rather than the male. The care of the dependent, the old, the sick, and the afflicted, as well as of the young, fell upon the family, and it has been only in recent years that the family has to any great extent tried to shift this burden to the state.

The causes of most of the problems of society are easily traced back to the family—to the early training (or perhaps lack of training), as well as to the conditions for which heredity itself is responsible. The most potent environment is the environment of early life, that of the home. It is the training received in the home that has the most to do with the shaping of the after life. This is true not only of criminals, immoral persons and degenerates, but also of the poor as a class. Because of these facts a study of sociology, no matter how brief, would be incomplete without some consideration of the family. To find out why our present-day family takes the form that it does we must consider the different stages through which it has passed. We must find the causes behind the changes and the forces that have been brought to bear upon the family, and have helped in its molding. This study must necessarily cover periods prior to those recorded in written history, for before there was history even to record there was a form of the family. It is extremely difficult to draw any really accurate descriptions of the early family because of its antiquity, but the following more or less definite stages can be noted:

Primitive or Indefinite Family.—While the family was our earliest social institution it has not always had a definite form as it has to-day. We must remember that at first there was no law and consequently no such things as marriage licenses or marriage ceremonies. Yet family relations existed. These relationships of course were not always definite or clearly defined. Life was rough, crude and animal-like. While there has not been a definite order of development there has been a steady, if irregular, change or evolution.

Some writers claim that there was a period when man roamed over the earth in bands, living an animal-like existence. Some of the earlier authorities, including McLennan and Morgan, declared that this was the condition during the lowest stages of savagery, when there was no real family, as we know it to-day, but instead only the horde; that there was no such institution as marriage, and no restraint upon the sexual passions, but that promiscuity was universal and physical force the prevailing law. They thought that during this period the child was brought up entirely by the mother, the father feeling no responsibility in its behalf, and the child not even knowing its own father. In fact, some writers went so far as to maintain that the father was entirely unconscious of paternity, and that children were not sought, but were the results of human passions. Consequently the burden of bringing up the child fell inevitably upon the mother. This situation was not so severe upon the mother as it would be under present conditions of society, for that was the period of the direct appropriation of the gifts of nature.

That man wandered around during this prehistoric period, living a more or less animal-like existence, there is no doubt; but many authorities, the foremost of whom is Westermarck, affirm that monogamy was the general rule and promiscuity the exception, even if man did live in bands. They admit, of course, that such a condition of monogamy would differ much from our own idea of monogamy, but they declare that man went in pairs for a more or less definite period of time, at least until the child was born and was old enough for the mother to care for alone. Against a state of general promiscuity they advance three arguments, which Westermarck summarizes as follows (a fourth argument is supplied by the writer):

1. *Zoological.*—Among many higher animals a more or less definite system of pairing is found, and monogamy is the rule rather than the exception. This argument is illustrated by such animals as the anthropoid apes, some members of the cat family, squirrels, seals, whales, gazelles, reindeer, hippopotamuses, and especially birds.

2. *Physiological.*—Promiscuity tends to produce infertility. Although not every group which intermarries becomes degenerate, owing to the strength of some original group, yet degeneracy is a possible result of inter-marriage because original defects are continued and increased by a double inheritance. Recognition of this fact results in laws forbidding incest and intermarriage.

3. *Psychological.*—The universal prevalence of sexual jealousy tends to uphold monogamy. This, according to Westermarck, is the strongest argument against promiscuity. Pairing would be the result of mutual attraction even under prehistoric conditions, each person selecting as a mate one whom he or she preferred to any other, and it would only be natural that they would rather remain together even in the absence of authority designed to compel them to do so. At any rate they would remain together till they grew tired of each other, or until one of them met some one else that appealed to him or her more. Since man has always been gregarious and naturally prefers a companion of the opposite sex, it would only be logical for the pairs thus mated to remain more or less permanently joined.

4. *Biological Necessity.*—Nature has always safeguarded each of her creations. If the danger is great, the animal is especially protected. Fishes and lower forms of life are protected by a heavy birth-rate, thousands of eggs being laid at a time. As the species rises in the scale of life the number of offspring decreases but the care of the parents for the young increases. If the animal is helpless at birth, as is the case with birds, the parents look after the young. Man has a very low birth-rate as compared with most animals and the period of infancy is greatly prolonged; so care by the parents is absolutely necessary. In addition, the mother is especially helpless at the period of childbirth and needs the protection of the male. This argument, which we may call biological necessity for the lack of a better name, is strongly against the existence of any general state of promiscuity.

Whether there ever was such a social condition as the horde, in which either promiscuity or a modified form of

monogamy prevailed, is not and probably never will be definitely known. Whatever the conditions were, the family ties could not have been very strong at that time; but as man progressed they became stronger. The father also grew to feel a responsibility, at least in part, for the rearing of the children, and so came to contribute more and more towards their support. As the races began to settle down, there gradually developed what is known as matriarchy or woman rule, in regard to which there is likewise a considerable difference of opinion, both as to its length and importance.

Matriarchy.—1. *Different Views on This Subject.*— Bachofen, who is generally given the credit for the authorship of this theory, considered that there was once a period, indefinite in length, during which woman ruled. Others on the contrary deny that there ever was such a period. However, practically all the leading authorities to-day recognize some form of matriarchy, although no two definitely agree, and no one is altogether clear in his account of this period. Some think that the period was a long one, lasting possibly thousands of years; others that it was comparatively short; and still others that it was only a transitional stage, and in many races skipped entirely. In fact, the present tendency is to deny any definite succession of different types.

At any rate there was a period in which mother right prevailed and during which kinship was traced through the female. This was largely ascribable to the fact that the mother had more to do with the rearing of the offspring than the father. Besides, the father was not always known; and even when he was known, his connection with childbirth was not clearly understood, because of ignorance of the laws of reproduction, pregnancy being among some peoples attributed to magic or to a superhuman power. Also at this time the father was a hunter and roamer, while the mother had a more or less definite place of abode. Naturally she ruled the children and had influence over the grown daughters till they married, and to some extent over the grown sons; from this fact there followed a measure of

deference to the female. But at this period in the world's history no such thing as political government had developed; so woman could not have ruled in the sense Bachofen meant.

2. *Polyandry.*—Polyandry, the possession by one woman of more than one husband, developed as a system under matriarchy, just as polygyny, the marriage of one man to more than one woman, developed under the later period of patriarchy. Sometimes a woman would have more than one suitor, especially in countries where there was a scarcity of women, a situation brought about by infanticide, or where conditions of living made it impossible for one man to support a wife alone—and she would practice polyandry. This system did not, however, become universal because of the almost equal number of individuals in the two sexes; in fact, it has been rather the exception. Yet it has survived even to the present among a few peoples, as in Ceylon, Tibet, and Assam.

Howard divides polyandry into two types: (1) The Nair type, in which the wife lives with her mother or brothers and is free to choose her husbands or lovers, who need not be related to each other. Kinship is traced through the female line, and property descends in the same fashion. "No Nair knows his father and every man looks upon his sister's children as his heirs."[1] In a transitional stage the wife has a home of her own, cohabiting with her husbands according to fixed rules. Generally each lives with her a certain set period, at the end of which he gives way to the next man. This is easily managed when all the husbands live in the same village, but if they come from separate localities they sometimes become confused in regard to dates, in which case trouble is liable to ensue. (2) The Tibetan type, which is considered a higher form. The wife lives in the home of her husbands, who are usually brothers. The eldest brother generally chooses the wife and claims as his all the children.

[1] Howard, G. E., *History of Matrimonial Institutions,* quoting from Buchanan, 1904 (Univ. of Chicago Press).

Among the Todas of India monogamy and polyandry exist side by side. A man may choose his own wife and pay the dower to her parents; or, with the consent of all parties his brothers may participate in the marriage, each one contributing his share of the dower. In either case property and kinship are traced through the male line. McLennan believed that the Tibetan type was quite common, but it is not so considered to-day.

3. *Inheritance in Matriarchy.*—As a rule inheritance, like kinship, was traced through the female. This, however, has not been universal, differing with the various tribes and varying conditions. As civilization progresses we find a tendency toward descent through the male.

4. *Economic Argument in Regard to Matriarchy.*—Another condition that we find accompanying matriarchy is that it appears strongest as a system in the countries where the work of the women is economically more important than the work of men—countries which are adapted to agriculture rather than hunting or fishing or pastoral life. Because as a mere laborer woman produces more, she is naturally more important than man and so has the more to say in regard to the life of the family. But as soon as animals are domesticated for use in agriculture and slave labor is utilized, the tables are turned, for man is better adapted to train animals and to manage slaves and servants. In countries adapted to hunting and fishing or pastoral life man always has been the leader, for under such circumstances his work has been the more productive. For this reason we find that in some countries the period of matriarchy was long and important, while in others it was short and unimportant, and in some cases passed over entirely.

Along the same lines we find that polygyny is more apt to prevail in countries where food is abundant, and polyandry where living is desperately hard. In countries where neither extreme prevails and property and opportunity are more equally divided, monogamy is apt to be the general rule.

5. *Exogamy and Endogamy.*—These two customs have

no special connection with matriarchy, but as they developed during the same period they may be considered here. Endogamy, or the compelling of one to marry within one's group, is of comparatively minor importance. It principally took the form of group marriages, a certain group of men marrying with a certain group of women. These groups were usually composed of brothers or sisters or those closely related. In such groups each man had a preferential right to one woman, and a secondary right to every other woman. It is also found among groups who considered it beneath them to marry outside of the group, such as those of royal blood; the brother and sister marriages of the Ptolemies of Egypt is a good example of this.

The general practice, however, has always been exogamy, or the compelling of a man to go outside of his or her group for a partner. This system is maintained to-day among all civilized races by forbidding the marriage of near relatives. It results from the necessity of preventing degeneracy and, according to Westermarck, from the universal horror of incest. It is almost as universal among savage tribes as it is in civilized groups. Among some tribes in Central Australia the tribe is divided into two classes; the man is then compelled to choose his wife from the opposite class. The Kamilaroi, aborigines of Australia, are divided into six gentes, each of which is named after an animal. Formerly members of the first three could marry only into the last three, but later custom grew more lax and inter-marriage is allowed into any gens except one's own. Descent is traced through the female line, giving the children to the gens of the mother.

This condition has been found among nearly all the American Indians but especially among the Iroquois, who furnish us the best example of such a system. The Iroquois or Six Nations, as they were frequently called, were divided into eight gentes, which took the names of animals. Not all of these gentes, however, were represented in each tribe. Each individual had to go outside of his own gens to marry, and as among the Australians, descent was at first traced through the female. The male went to live

in the gens of his wife, where he, except in rare cases, was looked upon as an outsider; he very often had little influence in the management of affairs. The head was the eldest unmarried brother of the woman, and the honor of headship descended to the oldest unmarried male in the family. This system later changed; descent became transmitted through the male line, thus ending matriarchy.

Exogamy was brought about to a great extent by wife capture, woman stealing being a mark of successful warfare, indicating prowess. Furthermore, a female thus acquired had an economic value, since she served her husband not only as wife or concubine but also as drudge or slave. From this practice exogamy developed till it became the custom. Because of the fact that those tribes that practiced exogamy survived, while those that practiced endogamy did not, exogamy came to have the sanction of law and religion. However, there are many classical examples of sister marriages, as among the Ptolemies of Egypt and the kings of ancient Persia, where the desire was to maintain the purity of the caste or of the royal blood. Sister marriages are even to-day found in Ceylon and the Sandwich Islands. But exogamy has always been the general rule whether from necessity or choice, or both.

Patriarchy.—From matriarchy, or the rule of woman, the pendulum swung to the opposite extreme, that of patriarchy or the rule of man, where the father was the head of the house and ruled not only his wife and children but also his children's families. He ruled supremely as long as he lived, his wife frequently being his slave, and was succeeded upon his death by his eldest son. Sir Henry Maine, in his "Ancient Law," published in 1867, advanced the theory that this was the primitive form of the family and that the further back we go in history the more wretched we find the condition of woman to have been. The trouble with his theory was that he did not go back far enough into history but based his deductions altogether upon the early Roman family, which his book pictures. It is true that in early Rome the father had the right of life and death over his wife and children. Although woman

was respected on account of her virtue, her life was hard and the treatment accorded her often cruel.

In ancient Greece, woman was kept at home; but while she occupied a much lower place than the Roman woman, she was more humanely treated. She was uneducated and forbidden to mingle in society. Her whole duty was to rear children for her husband. The Greek husband did not abuse his wife; in fact he had little to do with her, for he spent his time away from home talking politics and philosophy, practicing or watching athletics, or listening to orations. When he craved female companionship he sought it from the Hetairii or public women, who, being generally foreigners, were educated and nearly equal to him intellectually. While this was not the condition among all the Greeks, it was among many of them, especially the Athenians and Ionians, among whom the men were highly educated; their wives were densely ignorant, being thought unworthy of an education.

In Sparta there was much greater equality. Among Aryan peoples, however, woman was never reduced to slavery, and in general she has exercised joint control over the children, who were released from parental authority when they married and established homes of their own.

According to the Hindu conception the wife was regarded as incapable of holding property and so neither the wife nor the daughters could inherit property. Still the bride possessed her own personal belongings—her couch, clothing, and ornaments—and from this germ there probably arose the present rights of property and inheritance. In other countries we find similar development. Gradually the position of woman has risen from that of a mere chattel or piece of merchandise in her husband's household to her present condition, which in most countries is even yet inferior to that of man, but which is constantly rising. In a few countries her status has reached a plane almost equal to that of man.

Polygyny.[2]—Under patriarchy we find polygyny, or the

[2] The attention of the student is called to the distinction between polygyny, or the plurality of wives, and polygamy, which means the

marriage of one man to more than one woman. Usually there was one preferred wife; often the others were concubines or slaves. Many examples are given in the Bible, as in the cases of Jacob, David, and particularly Solomon, who is said to have had 700 wives and 300 concubines. In fact, as Westermarck says, it was so much the matter of course that the law did not even penalize it. A man was allowed as many wives as he was able to support. This practice was made possible for at least the wealthy and the rulers by the killing of many men in war and by the custom of slavery, which appeared in the pastoral and agricultural stages of civilization, especially in the Eastern countries. Polygyny is found to-day in Turkey, Arabia, India, China, and even Japan. It is also practiced among many African tribes, and until very recently was openly practiced among the Mormons of the United States, who regarded it as a divine institution devised in order more rapidly to populate the earth.

While polygyny has been permitted among savage and barbarous peoples, it has not been, and in fact could not be, the universal custom, because of the almost equal number of individuals of the sexes. But as in some countries an excess of males caused by female infanticide and harsh treatment of women resulted in polyandry, so in other countries an excess of females caused by the greater mortality of males in war, the greater hardships incurred by primitive man in hunting, the weaker vitality of the male in childhood, and a larger birth-rate of girls, produced polygyny. On account of expense harems were necessarily possessed only by the rich and powerful who were able to support them. On the other hand, many of the lower classes were denied wives because of the introduction of slavery and the inability of the poor to support them; so, on the average, when one man had more than one wife, some other man was compelled to live without one.

The causes of polygyny were: (1) self-indulgence of males; (2) need of laborers, causing wives to be economic

plurality of mates and is a general term which includes both polygyny and polyandry.

assets; (3) superior fighting power of men with the largest number of children and relatives, owing to the fact that they could muster greater bands of warriors; (4) honor brought to the men for prowess and craft as evidenced by the number of captured women; and (5) augmented dignity of the chiefs and leading men resulting from the addition of wives to their retinues, harems being kept up for the purpose of gaining social prestige. To add to its influence, this system gained the sanction of religion.

Monogamy.—As civilization advanced, patriarchy gave way to monogamy, for with the progress of civilization slavery decreased and political, social, and industrial equality constantly increased. One natural result of the growth of liberty and freedom was the recognition of the right of every man to become married and to have a home of his own. Because of the almost equal number of males and females monogamy became the only type of family life which could endure. Since freedom applied to woman as well as man, woman demanded the right to have a voice in the making of her home, and her condition gradually became better. This has helped to make monogamy the only form of the family that modern civilization sanctions, although other forms still prevail in some parts of the world.

Indeed, investigation not only shows that the other forms of the family led to monogamy, but also points more and more to the fact that monogamy has always been the rule, that the marriage of single pairs with exclusive cohabitation has been the general custom, and that all other forms have been deviations from the rule. After all, the greatest change as civilization has advanced has been in the strictness of enforcement. While monogamy seems to have been the original custom, there was no power of enforcing it; on the contrary, those in power who had the ability to enforce it were the very ones who violated the rule and hence did not wish to make it compulsory.

Forms of Marriage.—No history of the family would be complete without treating the evolution of marriage, tracing the forms through which it has passed, and stating

the causes for them. Because this development has not always coincided with the history of the forms of the family, it has been reserved for separate treatment. The forms generally recognized have been the following:

1. *Sexual Selection.*—This was when man and woman naturally selected each other and lived together through admiration of each other's charms. Because there was no power to compel them to live together, the two remained united only so long as the company of each was pleasing and desirable to the other. This condition existed throughout the period of the horde, if there was such a period, and throughout matriarchy. But when the male began to assume the right to appropriate his bride and to take her to his dwelling, this form of marriage broke down, and marriage by capture took its place; then mother right (matriarchy) gave way to father right (patriarchy).

2. *Marriage by Capture.*—McLennan thought that marriage by capture arose from the rule of exogamy, according to which a man was compelled to go outside of his group to obtain a wife, for as his tribe was generally at war or on bad terms with the neighboring tribes, he was compelled to capture his bride when and how he could. Others hold that marriage by capture grew out of the capture of women in war. Still others think that the men grew tired of the women of their own camp, seeing them all the time, and for this reason were attracted by the women of other tribes. The writer believes that all these theories are true to some extent, and also that the superior strength of the male has had much to do with the prevalence of the custom. But, whatever its origin, it has played a great part in the history of marriage and is even to-day practiced by some savage tribes. Its former prevalence is shown, or at least strongly indicated, by the ceremony of pretended capture in marriage which is prominent in the marriage ceremonies of many countries. In these countries the bridegroom, generally aided by his friends, sweeps down upon the dwelling of the bride, as a rule according to some set custom, and carries her off despite the pretended resistance of her friends. In these contests she also pre-

tends to put up a struggle, no matter how willing she is to be carried off. Some people believe that certain marriage practices, such as the wedding tour, are merely survivals of this custom. Although there is no direct evidence that it has existed among all races, marriage by capture is generally supposed to have been widespread.

3. *Marriage by Purchase.*—Marriage by capture gave way to marriage by purchase, for the simple reason that man found it easier to buy a wife than to fight for one. Added to this was the desire of the father to receive some compensation for the bringing up of his daughters, who left the household almost as soon as they became economic assets. At first marriage by purchase would have been impossible for there was no private property, but as progress was achieved and private property came into existence, this obstacle was removed. Cattle were the most common medium of exchange because of their being in general demand.

This change from the capturing of a wife tc the buying of one lowered the position of woman, for man thought more of his wife when he fought for her than when he purchased her for merely so many cattle. This produced the desire on his part to realize on the investment; as a result woman became a slave in her husband's household. Even if she was not lowered to the position of a slave, she became a mere chattel. Sometimes she was better treated if she cost a large sum, just as a valuable animal would be well cared for, for this treatment did not carry with it any higher position. In many countries man had the right to sell his wife again, and in some he had the power of life and death over her. This was true in early Rome where the lot of woman was terribly hard.

This custom of purchase was in vogue in nearly all ancient nations and was especially practiced among the Greeks, Hindus, Finns, Scandinavians, and Slavs. In modern times it has been common among numerous peoples, including tribes of the American Indians, nearly all the tribes of Africa, Tartary, and some of the islands of the Pacific and Indian Oceans. Remnants are found among

many nations which do not practice it now, in such customs as the giving of presents by the bridegroom to the parents of the bride, found among the Japanese. Often when a man did not have sufficient wealth to buy a wife he would, in lieu of payment, work an agreed time for her parents; the classic example is that of Jacob who worked seven years each for Leah and Rachel.

In some localities where wealth accumulated, as in Rome, instead of the father being paid for his daughter he gave a dowry with her. But as the dowry usually belonged to the daughter it gave her greater freedom and made her somewhat independent of her husband. This custom frequently prevailed in countries where a preponderance of females made it difficult to marry them off. Sometimes this custom was so strong that unless this dowry was given the marriage was not considered legal, the children would not be regarded legitimate, and the woman would be treated little better than a prostitute. This became the condition in Greece and Germany to a great extent and to a certain degree in England.

4. *Marriage by Consent.*—Marriage by purchase was succeeded by marriage by consent. At first consent of only the parents was necessary; sometimes the consent of the bridegroom himself was not obtained. Such is the condition in China even to-day; the match is made by the parents through the services of professional match-makers; and the parties to be married submit without any protest. But in most countries the wishes of the man are considered, and it is he who generally gets the consent of the bride's parents. Sometimes the match is arranged by the parents, though often at the request of the man. At first the wishes of the woman were not deemed worthy of consideration, though she probably used her charms to attract the attention and win the love of the man she preferred. The consent of the parents is regarded as necessary in many of the highly civilized countries to-day, especially among the upper classes. Christianity, however, has insisted that only the consent of the contracting parties is necessary, and this has come to be all that is legally necessary in the leading nations to-day.

Influence of Christianity.—Although disputed by some, Christianity has done more to elevate the position of woman and to raise the standard of the family than any other single factor. First, it did away with polygamy. Before Christianity appeared, the position of woman was degraded, even in highly civilized Greece and Rome. Although Donaldson, in his "Woman, Her Position in Ancient Greece and Rome," gives little credit to it, Christionity raised woman from the position of a slave to that of a partner. Christianity has always stood for a single standard of morality and has taught that the moral responsibility of man is the same as that of woman, and although the Church has not fully converted the world to this opinion, the results of its teaching are marked.

Stability of Marriage.—The durability of the marriage tie is another standard by which we can study the family. As a rule divorce could be had among savages on slight pretexts, especially by the man. In some countries it was almost impossible for the woman, for she had no legal rights. This was generally true in countries where marriage by purchase was prevalent. But the husband could send his wife away whenever he cared to—perhaps simply because he was tired of her—on the most frivolous grounds, or even without giving any reasons at all. Sometimes, however, this was not allowed when there were children. On the other hand, a few primitive tribes, such as the Papuas of New Guinea, the Veddahs of Ceylon, and the Massers of Batu, go to the opposite extreme and maintain that the marriage relation is absolutely indissoluble.

Generally there was no formal divorce among primitive tribes; either the wife left the husband or he made her leave. Among more civilized peoples we find that divorce has been allowed only for certain definite reasons, of which adultery, unfaithfulness, barrenness, and cruelty have been the most common. Some form of ceremony would usually be insisted upon, generally the vote of the tribe or permission of the chief or ruler being required; but the husband always obtained the divorce more easily. In most instances both parties were allowed to re-marry, although

this was made harder for the woman than for the man. Among the Hindus and Chinese even now it is almost impossible for a woman to obtain a divorce. It has been the general rule for the woman who was divorced or who put away her husband to return to her own family, whose duty it was to receive her. In China at the present time she cannot be divorced unless her family is willing to receive her—a condition which is rare because of the poverty of the people and the dislike for women, unless it is certain that a new husband can quickly be found for her.

Among Mohammedans divorce is allowed. Christianity has thrown its influence against it. Roman Catholics forbid it, calling it "progressive polygamy," although the Catholic Church does make provision for separation and is gradually forced by public opinion to modify to some extent its opposition to divorce. Protestants allow it for certain causes. To-day divorce is increasing in Christian countries, especially the United States, largely owing to a change of attitude on the part of Protestants in regard to it.

Position of Woman Under Different Religions.—1. *Brahmanism.*—In India, under Brahmanism, a woman is married when a mere girl, sometimes being spoken for when she is in her cradle. She is usually married to a man much older than herself, often to one old enough to be her father. She is in theory and often in practice a servant or rather a slave of her husband, not being allowed to eat at the same table or to cook her food over the same fire. She is kept upon a low intellectual plane, seldom being allowed to learn to read or write. Her husband is her god; her hope in the future lies in the confident expectation of being able to serve her husband. Formerly when he died she was burned on his funeral pyre. When this custom (called suttee) was stopped by the English government, widows became despised and isolated persons and were forbidden to remarry. According to official 1925 statistics there are 26,834,000 such widows in India, many mere children, eight, ten, and twelve years of age, too young even to know what marriage meant; their unhappy

lot the British government has tried with some success to alleviate. In the temples themselves in India women are kept for immoral purposes. Female infanticide formerly was very common and, although it is now forbidden by the government, it is yet practiced secretly to some extent. In fact there are to-day 5,000,000 fewer women in India than men, although the harder lot of women and the poverty of the country may account in part for this difference.

2. *Buddhism.*—Under Buddhism woman enjoys a much higher position than under Brahmanism, for although she is looked upon as an inferior she is treated well, especially in Siam. There a boy generally marries at fourteen, a girl at twelve; if a girl is not married at thirteen she is sold into serfdom. While polygamy and divorce are common, woman is to a great extent independent. In Japan her position is not, on the whole, so good as in Siam; she is looked upon as an inferior, whose duty it is to serve her husband. This inferior position is shown often in the customs and ideals. Immorality is very common and concubinage does much to break up home life. The husband can easily divorce the wife, who can also obtain a divorce but her children go to the husband. Christianity has done much to elevate the position of woman in Japan; immorality has been checked to some extent, and infanticide abolished. The equal rights movement is also rapidly gaining ground, especially in Japan.

3. *Confucianism.*—In China under Confucianism the condition of woman has been wretched. A girl was merely a slave and was early given in marriage or sold if any one would buy her. She never saw her husband till the time for the marriage ceremony; she went to live in the family of her husband where she became a slave; she never was given a chance to start a new home. The man could divorce his wife, provided her family would take her back, but the law recognized no such right for the woman. In youth the girl was a slave to her parents; after marriage, to her mother-in-law; in old age, to her sons. Because of poverty female infanticide was great; female suicide was

common, although the high price of the poisons made from opium and the scarcity of green opium has now made the luxury of a suicide almost prohibitive to the poor. The Chinese woman was a drudge, constantly bearing children, ceaselessly working, and having necessarily a dark outlook on life. This unhappy condition is now rapidly improving with the influence of Western civilization.

4. *Mohammedanism.*—Although not generally abused, woman holds a degraded position in all Mohammedan countries. While a husband must provide for his wife, he can divorce her for any reason; but she has no such means of redress. Woman is never looked upon by her husband as a companion, but as a toy or plaything. Because of the prevalence of the old patriarchal system woman is the slave of her mother-in-law. The Koran permits four wives, but through divorce a man may have as many wives as he wants; he is permitted as many concubines as he is able to support. The Mohammedan conception of Heaven includes woman placed there only to wait upon and serve man. It is this sensual and degraded position of woman which has counteracted the good effects of the Koran and has put all the Mohammedan countries so low in the scale of civilization. The changes made by the new Turkish government and the progress of that country since the World War is now rapidly breaking down the sway of the Mohammedan conception of woman's position. The Turkish woman in particular is now rapidly gaining recognition and equal rights.

5. *Judaism and Christianity.*—While the ancient Jews had the patriarchal form of the family, the Jews were the first people to allow marriage to be based merely upon personal choice. Rights of woman developed among them at a much faster rate than among other races. Christianity, adding impetus to this development, has stood for the equal rights of woman. Among Christian races we find respect, love, and equality between husband and wife; the abolition of polygyny and concubinage, the diminishing of immorality and impurity; the strengthening of marriage

ties, and above all the evolution of woman's individuality. These are among the factors that have made the Christian nations the leading nations of the world to-day.

Conclusion.—In most of the Oriental countries to-day the patriarchal form of the family is the prevailing one, being founded upon an institution which was prevalent centuries ago. In Greece women were secluded, the wife was uneducated and, although well treated physically, was not looked upon as a companion but merely as the keeper of the home and the rearer of the children. Much of this, however, she turned over to slaves. Thus the position of woman was degraded enough although not so bad as it was previously in the nations of Asia. In early Rome woman occupied an honorable position although her lot was hard. In the later Empire woman was freed largely from the restraint of patriarchal customs, but family ties became very lax and the family very unstable. Immorality increased, reaching terrible proportions in the later years of the Empire. This was caused largely by the destruction of the old religion, the bringing in of vast wealth to Rome from all parts of the Empire, and the change in political conditions. Instead of advancing, Rome degenerated and crumbled.

During the Middle Ages we find the development of feudalism, when men spent their time fighting, pillaging and drinking, and left most of the work for the women to do. This was followed by the period of chivalry which has been much sung and written about. But chivalry was an artificial condition that developed under knighthood. The knight who would fight to the death to defend the honor of a woman of gentle birth thought nothing of ravishing the daughter of the poor. In fact, the daughters of the peasants or serfs were looked upon by the nobles and landlords as legitimate objects of prey.

In Europe to-day woman occupies a subordinate position differing in degrees in the various countries. Even in England she does not hold an equal position before the law. Divorce is made much harder for her than for the man, and the double standard falls much heavier upon

her. In many countries she is given the voting privilege, but in general her position is much inferior to that of woman in the United States.

Woman is rapidly coming into a condition of equality with man, and it is only a question of time until this principle will be completely recognized. Progress is most evident in education, business, social life and politics.

1. *Education.*—It has been only a few years since people were discussing the question whether it was worth while to educate girls other than teaching them to read and write. Later the question was whether it was worth while to send them to a secondary school; in some sections of our country the value of such an education is hardly recognized even to-day. Not long ago people were debating in regard to a college education for women, and now the same question is being thrashed out in regard to professional studies, such as medicine, law, and engineering. It was only a comparatively few years ago that women were first admitted to our colleges; they are even to-day forbidden admission to a few of our largest universities. But in general we admit the principle of equal education for women.

2. *Business.*—During the past twenty-five or thirty years woman has invaded the field of business, and in capacities which require accuracy and attention to details, such as those of the stenographer, bookkeeper, secretary, and cashier, she not only has established herself but frequently has proved her superiority to man. During the World War the scarcity of male labor resulted in a great influx of women in industry—not only in unskilled industry but in specialized work as well. Woman is now attempting the more advanced positions, such as department head, stock buyer, and executive, but is meeting with greater difficulty in such positions because of the high degree of fitness required, and also because man enters business as a life work while woman often regards it as temporary, intending to follow it only a few years, and looking towards matrimony as a means of escape from it. Then, too, man has always shown greater executive ability

and is better adapted to managing and supervising. Recently women have been going into business for themselves, and while generally successful in a small way they usually lack the daring and broad grasp which are essential to noteworthy success.

3. *Social Life.*—In social life the position of woman is becoming less artificial and more practical. She is no longer placed upon a pedestal and worshiped simply because she is a woman; she is now respected for what she is. She is not excused simply on the ground that she belongs to the female sex, but is held responsible as a person able to decide and reason things out. In short, she is being worshiped less and respected more. The old form of chivalry is rapidly dying out; a new and higher form is taking its place. Woman is being deferred to and waited upon less and less, but she is given a greater chance to develop her talents to the best of her ability.

4. *Politics.*—Woman suffrage has been ridiculed and opposed in vain. It is now recognized by careful students of the question as not merely inevitable but as just and rational. Woman has to obey laws. Why not give her a voice in making them? If she owns property she has to pay taxes on it. Why not give her a voice in saying what those taxes shall be? She is going into industry and fighting her own way in the world, subject to the dangers and temptations of the world, to disease, to poor sanitation, to impure milk supply, to bad housing conditions, etc. She has to live amid these conditions, why not give her a chance to protect herself? Woman suffrage will never bring the millennium; but why should this be expected? It is not a question of bringing in reforms, but of giving equal rights and privileges to all who are entitled to them. The woman suffrage fight has been won in the United States and many other countries, and the principle actuating it is being slowly accepted throughout the world.

It is now being recognized that in the last analysis marriage rests upon a mutual attraction of the sexes. In order to make it a success the wife should be capable of meeting the husband on an equal plane and of sharing

his interests. When this is accomplished happiness will be more certain. Then and not till then will the evolution of the family be completed.

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CHAPTER XII

PROBLEMS OF THE MODERN FAMILY

While the slavery and subjection of the wife in the home has been abolished, the power of life and death of the man over his wife and children made a thing of the past, and such conditions as polygyny and polyandry done away with in most civilized countries, there are still problems connected with family life. These are different from the problems of a thousand years ago, different even from those of fifty years ago; nevertheless they exist. They are constantly varying as changes occur in our social fabric. In this chapter we shall consider some of the more important present-day problems that concern the family.

Race Suicide.—A great deal of attention has been given in recent years to the fact that the size of the families of our native American stock has been constantly decreasing. Statistics go to prove such statements, as we found in our study of birth-rates. What especially alarms us is the decrease in the size of the families of the original American stock, which settled this country and were chiefly responsible for its success as a nation, such as the descendants of the Pilgrims and Puritans of Massachusetts and the Cavaliers of Virginia. Figures for the country at large show a similar tendency; there is everywhere a decrease in the size of the modern family, especially among the educated and cultured classes. In our chapter on "Increase of Population" we have considered the social and economic causes of this decline in birth-rates. Some people look upon this decrease with alarm, but others with the hope that through this means our standard of living will keep on growing higher, that we shall rear with greater care what children we have. As the size of the family decreases we find the death rate decreasing, especially

among children. Fewer children die in infancy, because they receive better care, more wholesome food, better clothing, and more careful medical attention.

The principal objection to this seeming race suicide is that the people who have least need to restrict the size of their families are the ones who do it, while the ones who can least afford large families are the ones who still have them, being too ignorant or too shiftless to limit the number of the children. We see laborers who earn very poor wages having families of six and eight children. We see these children insufficiently fed, thinly clad, poorly housed, and at an early age forced into industry and never given a chance to develop as they should. This condition increases crime, vice, and poverty. The ones who ought to limit the size of their families are the very ones who do not do so; in fact, they generally have the largest families. Some oppose the idea of limiting families on religious grounds, believing that we should continue to replenish the earth and should not interfere with the plans of our Creator. Such views are not held so much as formerly, for the world already shows indications of soon being overpopulated; it is also conceived as possible that our Creator has given us the knowledge to control the number of children. On the whole, this cry of race suicide does not attract nearly so much attention to-day as it did a few years ago. Some states even now try to prevent doctors from giving their patients knowledge to prevent conception, but such laws are reactionary and retrogressive, and are rapidly becoming dead letters.

Woman's Rights.—We are living in an age of specialization. Each person must be able to do well some one thing. This specialization has spread to the home and has contributed to the breaking down of home life. The father is away from home a great deal of the time and often the mother is also forced to go into industry; the children are thus left to their own devices. In the homes of the rich it is equally bad, for here the children are frequently entrusted to the care of servants, the father being engrossed with business cares and the mother with

her social functions. This is carried so far that some people go to the extent of predicting the ultimate destruction of the family, saying that it has served its part in civilization and is soon to be relegated to the past. Such a view is, of course, too extreme. Yet we cannot go back to the old form of the family, because we are not living under the same conditions in which our fathers and grandfathers lived.

Formerly the girls in the home were held in restraint. In many sections of our country a woman would have lost her standing in society if she but ventured to walk through the country alone, and such is the condition to a great extent in our Southern States to-day. Possibly there was once the need of such provision because of the dangers of a new country, and possibly such a need exists in the South to-day, but in general our country has reached so high a state of civilization that such restraint is wholly unnecessary. The place of woman in the past was in the home, and we hear to-day the same argument reiterated by the reactionary element in our population; but such movements as woman's suffrage and feminism are rapidly convincing the world that woman has an equal right to a voice in every phase of our social life, that she has the right to go into industry, to make her own living, choose a career, and have an equal voice not only in the control of the children but also in all matters that affect the home. While this argument may be perfectly valid and is now generally so recognized, there are difficulties in carrying out the principle. We may be willing to admit that woman has just as valid a right to swear, drink, and smoke as man, but it nevertheless offends us more when she does it, because we are not accustomed to it. When a woman demands an equal right with men to dine out of evenings unescorted, or even to walk the street of an evening unescorted, her meaning may be misunderstood and she may be molested and even insulted.

Such are merely difficulties incidental to adjustment to a new condition. Since from one-fourth to one-third

of the women in industry are married, the problem of the family is more intricate. In time we shall get our bearings and become accustomed to woman's going into industry, choosing a profession, insisting upon continuance in that profession after marriage, demanding a single standard of morality, and insisting upon an equal share in the making and executing of our laws. When we shall have reached such a stage we shall no longer consider woman's rights a problem but shall wonder why it took the world so long to be convinced. In the past woman has not kept pace with her husband after marriage but gradually slipped backward, and she does so to some extent even to-day. This has stood in the way of any movement tending to bring about a condition of equality. Man goes out into the world, comes in contact with others, and in this manner keeps his wits sharpened and his horizon continually broadened. But woman remains in the home, doing the same old things day after day and meeting the same small number of people. Her work does not end at five or six o'clock but continues long afterwards; thus she has generally been deprived of time even to read the daily newspapers, to say nothing of getting out into the world and meeting other people; so she inevitably fell back. This has been true even of college graduates, for there is not always an incentive for them to continue their studies. To the writer this problem of woman's rights seems merely temporary, one of adjustment, rather than a permanent condition. It is a sign of progress. Modern improvements are making housework less of a drudgery. Such inventions as the vacuum cleaner, electric iron, gas range, fireless cookers, electric lights, and electric washing machines make housework less difficult. The bakery and canning factory save much cooking. Woman is thus given more time for self-culture. She is allowed to go outside into the world more and more, and, although woman is possibly more conservative than man, we can only look for a more satisfactory status to develop. The World War complicated this problem because of the great increase of women

in industry; at the same time it probably hastened its solution by increasing the respect for woman and by offering her greater opportunities.

However, the problem of woman's rights cannot be dismissed thus easily. If woman is to be on the same footing as man, the question will immediately arise as to whether this does not include an equal right to a career, the right to go into business, follow a profession and use her time as she sees fit. As long as a woman remains unmarried she may thus follow her career, with of course due consideration for restrictions placed upon her by society in the way of lower wages and limitations due to custom and habit. When this woman marries, and, of course, marriage must be recognized as natural, the problem is complicated. While at first both husband and wife may follow their individual careers, both going to work each morning and coming home at night, this condition is not as equal as it might seem, for housework falls more heavily upon the woman as a result of custom and habit as well as training. The question comes up in regard to whether the pair could not live in an apartment hotel or in furnished rooms, where the management looks after the rooms, and meals can be taken out. But such an arrangement does not mean a home in the true sense and lacks the charm and attractiveness found in the older arrangement of having the meals and doing the other forms of housework in the home. Even when the laundry, the cleaning and repairing of the clothing are sent out and similar services are rendered by professionals, the situation is far from ideal and much of the romance of the home is destroyed.

The real problem comes with the appearance of children in the home, and no home is, of course, complete without children. Also in order to obtain the greatest satisfaction and happiness as well as physical health and success of the family, these children should come early in the married life. Here is where the crisis generally comes in regard to the career, and the career is usually abandoned for it is the mother who bears and nourishes the children. This means that for weeks and possibly months at a time she

simply cannot follow a profession outside of the home. Then even after the birth of the children she is held close to the home for years or until all of the children have at least reached school age.

Mrs. Parsons suggests that not only can most of the work of the home, such as cooking, cleaning, and laundry work be done by experts, but also that much of the care of the children can be turned over to the public schools;[1] that not only do the schools already often serve excellent lunches, often better than those obtained at home, but by means of the school playground, gymnasium, etc., the school day might be lengthened by the addition of supervised play, etc. Then the children could be expertly cared for till their parents can call for them on their way home from work. While this might be possible and even medical and nursing care be given in times of illness, it will be the exceptional mother who can give her home and her profession the attention they both need.

A reduction of the working day to say six hours a day or the increase of part time work, such as a four-hour day for married women, may come in to some extent but we cannot expect this as a general condition. The husband might also take over a share of the housework and if his working day is reduced this is not only possible but possibly just; this arrangement is already appearing in many families to-day.

But there is another side to the question. If women go into industry and business in large numbers they tend to lower men's wages by upsetting the balance of supply and demand; though in part offset by an increase in the demand of goods. As a result of this, there may be little gained, and during the early years of married life when the financial strain is the greatest and the wife the least able to go out to earn there may be a distinct loss in income. Then also when the whole responsibility of earning a living for the family is taken from the shoulders

[1] Parsons, Alice Beal, "Woman's Dilemma," Part II (T. Y. Crowell Co.), 1926.

of the husband there is often, if not generally, a moral loss, a weakening of the moral fiber and often the man either increases his personal expenditures or does not try as hard to earn, accepting the income of the wife, and even children, as a matter of course. This means a loss to the home in the way of solidarity without the recompense of a greater income.

Yet even if the wife thinks the matter over carefully and deliberately decides to stay in the home till at least the children are reared, there may come in dissatisfaction and regret. Her work of washing dishes, mending, cooking, and the like is uninteresting, and she realizes that she earns the equivalent of a very small wage in comparison with what her husband earns. While his business or profession is systematized and he makes use of scientific methods and equipment, she still uses handicraft methods and wastes many motions in cooking one roast, setting one table for three or four people, making a few biscuits, preparing one salad, washing a few dishes, and straightening up a few rooms. She is forced to do this because the small tasks cannot be systematized and labor-saving devices, such as a dish-washing machine, are often too expensive.

While a few women are fortunate enough by circumstances, such as having relatives to care for the children in part, or have sufficient energy or ability to be able to do the work of two women, the same as a few men are able to hold down two positions or do two men's work, the balance of women must choose between the career and the home and most of them naturally choose the home, while some endeavor to do both with varying degrees of success.

Although the financial responsibility of the man has increased with the growing demands entailed by higher standards of living, the responsibility of the wife has decreased, as inventions and industrial development have relieved her of many of her former duties. With ordinary wages and modern demands upon them the average family find that the husband's wage is not sufficient and budgetary studies reveal that in the majority of cases the husband's income is supplemented by other income, particularly that

of the wife.[2] The majority of working women hold positions not because of desire but because of necessity. This very necessity, however, injures their bargaining position and results in lower wages, inferior positions and less satisfactory working conditions. It is just this situation which society deplores. But when the woman does work outside of the home by preference she is better able to control her hours and working conditions and to command a better wage.

In regard to pursuing a career after the children are grown or have entered school the situation is different. Here the home work often does not take up all the time of the wife and the work itself is often lonesome and wearisome. While the woman does have time to go out the incentive and opportunity are less. The financial strain as a rule has disappeared or been alleviated with the growth of the children. Then the woman of 45 cannot secure a position as easily as the woman of 20 or 25. She has dropped out of affairs and even if she has worked before marriage she has generally lost her contacts and has not kept up in the newer developments of her vocation. Yet if she can return to her profession, continue a career, or work part time or even devote her spare time to educational or welfare work she generally is the gainer and neither her family nor society have lost. But to do this requires ability and courage.

So, no matter what the decision, this problem will arise and can only be the most satisfactorily met by both the husband and the wife facing it frankly and working it out together according to their own circumstances and abilities in a spirit of mutual helpfulness.

Family Disorganization.—The real problem in regard to family disorganization begins with marriage. While there are some individuals, who because of mental, moral or physical disabilities, or defective training and education, are incapable of the marriage relation in its true

[2] Among others see Kingsbury, Susan M., "Relation of Women to Industry," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, vol. XV, pp. 141–158.

sense, the vast majority of persons are capable of successful married life, provided they are properly mated. The cause of most mismatings is inadequate preparation for marriage and an improper attitude towards the marriage relation. Marriage is too frequently entered into without serious thought. People too frequently marry because of superficial attractions, such as a pretty face, often more or less artificial, a dashing manner, good clothes, superficial manners, or even for money or position, and it must only be expected that many, if not the majority, of such marriages are not successful. If persons are properly mated with due regard for religion, morals, economic status or habits, education, disposition, temperament, interests or desires there will be little cause for disorganization or failure. When people realize that marriage is an economic, psychological, biological, moral and religious union as well as sentimental and emotional fewer mistakes will be made. But while the real problem centers in marriage itself, we will consider some of the outstanding phases of family disorganization, such as divorce and desertion, in this chapter, taking up first some of the forms of tension or strain in family life which produce or lead up to its break-down.

Strains or Tensions in Family Life.—The most apparent and possibly the most common single form of strain or tension is due to financial or economic pressure. This has many forms and may even lead to other tensions. If one partner, particularly the wife, has been accustomed to greater financial means before marriage there is a strain or tension if the new income is smaller, and unfortunately because of the greater expenses and demands the income is generally relatively smaller. The tension may be the result of the inability of the husband to earn enough for the family needs or demands. It may take the form of quarrels over finances, such as how the money is spent or which one wastes it or is extravagant. It may be due to misunderstandings in regard to the amount of the husband's income, his ability or willingness to provide or the ability of the wife to spend economically and wisely. It

may be due to inefficiency in earning or spending, or even to misrepresentation and deception. But no matter what the intentions may be, unless there is absolute frankness in regard to finances and this frankness is supported by the ability to handle financial matters there is bound to be strain or friction. A well-made-out budget and carefully kept family expenses greatly aid in lessening or removing this tension. They also tend to make the economic phase of the family life more successful.

Ill health is another strain. While one member of the family may care tenderly for the other who is ill, there is often, if not generally, a sense of regret or disappointment and at times even a loss of love and affection. A sick person may draw one's sympathy but at the same time there is a loss of respect. One cannot love a sick mate the way one can a healthy partner for it takes good health to really live, to take full part in play, sports and recreations of all kinds, to say nothing of doing one's share of the work. If one partner is sick the other is forced to work harder, to sacrifice and to help carry the other's load. Ill health also lowers income and increases expenses. Then it also seems to be a part of human nature to admire strength and to despise weakness.

The lack of response to affection or advances causes a strain. If one partner is affectionate and demonstrative and the other is cold and distant there generally develops a disappointment and regret, on one or both sides.

If one member of the union loses his or her respect for the other in such matters as the ability to succeed in life, honesty, truthfulness, morality, even one's physical power and strength, there is often disappointment and a weakening of the mutual confidence necessary for a successful family life.

If the two come from different classes or strata in society or have different cultural backgrounds there is often a strain or tension. If one has a good education and the other has no education; if one has been brought up in a religious atmosphere or has a deep religious interest and the other is not religious in habit or practice, there is a

tension and disappointment. If one member is cultured and refined in his or her habits and the other coarse and rough there is apt to be a strain or tension, even if the rough member otherwise has admirable qualities, because the lack of refinement may bring about embarrassment and humiliation, hence a loss of status.

If the two represent different ideals or patterns of life friction and tension often develop. If one has high ideals and ambitions or service or achievement and the other does not care but takes life as it comes there may be friction and even a breakdown of the home. One may feel that the other does not take any interest and the other member may think that the first one is willing to sacrifice love, home and family for a career or material success. If the ambitious is forced to give up his hopes and dreams he feels disappointment and may become sour and morose.

These are by no means all of the forms of tension in family life, but they suggest some of the reasons for the disorganization or breakdown of married life.

Divorce.—When we come to the divorce question we meet a problem which is much more serious than those just considered, although possibly less alarming than many people believe it to be. The conditions are not all bad, for often a divorce is a good thing in that it may be a relief from a worse condition. In fact, it must be remembered that, after all, divorce is merely the legal recognition of a broken home. The real problem is in regard to marriage. If a couple simply cannot live together happily and if life to both of them is torment, it is best for them to separate. If there are children the seriousness of the situation is increased, for their future has to be considered, even more than that of the parents. And if the couple continue to live together the problem may be still further complicated by the birth of more children. The fact that we have such a thing as divorce is not the alarming feature; it is rather in the great increase of divorce in the United States. There are more divorces granted in this country than in all the nations of Europe put together. This became the case as

early as 1885, as is shown by the following figures for that year on, the number of divorces granted:

United States	23,472	Great Britain and Ireland	508
France	6,245	Roumania	541
Germany	6,161	Holland	339
Russia	1,789	Belgium	290
Austria	1,718	Sweden	229
Switzerland	920	Australia	100
Denmark	635	Norway	68
Italy	556	Canada	12

This makes a total of only 20,131 divorces for all the other nations in the table as against 23,472 for the United States. The figures for twenty years later, 1905, are still more impressive, as shown as follows:

United States	67,976	Italy (1904)	859
Germany	11,147	Great Britain and Ireland	821
France	10,860	Denmark	549
Austria-Hungary	5,785	Sweden	448
Roumania	1,718	Norway	408
Switzerland	1,206	Australia	339
Belgium	901	New Zealand	126
Holland	900	Canada	33

In 1906 there was one divorce to 10 marriages in the United States as contrasted with one to 30 in France, one to 40 in Germany and one to 400 in England. The following table gives comparative figures for different countries and shows that increase in divorce seems to be more or less universal.

DIVORCES PER 100,000 POPULATION

Country	*1922*	*1916*	*1911*	*1906*	*1901*
United States	136	112	—	84	79
Japan	92	109	113	136	140
France	71	11	37	27	23
Germany	58	15	24	20	14
Switzerland	54	40	43	38	30
Belgium	49	—	14	9	12
Denmark	39	31	27	23	15
Netherlands	28	20	16	13	11
Sweden	24	13	11	10	7
Australia	22	13	12	8	10
Norway	21	20	17	9	6
Scotland (1921)	11	6	—	4	4

Only one country has had a divorce rate in excess of that of the United States and that has been Japan. In Japan, however, marriage is purely a civil affair and is looked upon in the nature of a private contract like a business partnership. Yet in Japan the divorce rate has fallen rapidly in recent years, being passed in 1916 by the United States while in 1922 the ratio was increased to 149 for the United States as against 88 for Japan. Early marriages have fallen off in Japan. While the cost of living has soared in recent years the Japanese are apparently getting their balance again in the marriage relation. While marriages for love are increasing there seems to be a sentiment in favor of serious consideration of marriage, a recognition of parental wishes and the approval of marrying within one's social and economic class.

While divorce as a world phenomenon has been on the increase, the United States has more than held its own. In this country the ratio of divorces to marriages had increased to one divorce to 9.4 marriages in 1916 and to one to 6.7 in 1924. In some of our states this ratio was considerably higher. In 1924 Nevada had 1037 divorces to 1079 marriages or practically one to one. Oregon had one divorce to 2.4 marriages; Wyoming one to 3.7; Oklahoma one to 4.2; Missouri one to 4.4; Texas one to 4.6; Ohio one to 4.7; California one to 5; and Colorado one to 5.6. Some cities had even greater ratios: Reno had 751 divorces to 465 marriages; Portland showed almost one to 1.8 marriages; Seattle and San Francisco one to 3; St. Louis one to 3.3; and Denver one to 3.6. As opposed to these many states and cities showed actual decreases. At present the increase in the Western States is falling off, and the Central and Southern and particularly the Southwestern States, such as Texas and Oklahoma, are on the increase.

Rapid Increase in the United States.—Yet it is not so much the fact that the United States leads the world in the number of divorces granted as that the increase has been so rapid in this country, which is the alarming feature. In 1867, the first year for which divorce statistics

are available, there were only 9,937 divorces granted in the United States, while in 1906 the number reached 72,062 and in 1916, 112,036. In the twenty years from 1867 to 1886 inclusive there were 328,716 divorces granted, but in the next twenty years, or 1887 to 1906 inclusive, the number reached 945,625. In the first period (from 1867 to 1886) the number of divorces increased 157 per cent, while the population increased but 60 per cent; in the second period (from 1886 to 1906) the number of divorces increased 160 per cent, while the population increased but a trifle over 50 per cent. In other words, divorce increased three times as fast as our population. Professor Willcox estimates that at our present rate of increase, by 1950, one-fourth of all our marriages will end in divorce and, by 1990, one-half of all marriages will end in divorce. Such a condition would be dangerous to our civilization for it would inevitably cause neglect of children, the breaking up of the home, immorality, and an entire disregard for family ties. While such an increase as Professor Willcox suggests is suggested by the actual tendencies, it is not at all probable. In fact, recent statistics do not justify such conclusions, as will be seen by the following comparative figures for the United States.

	Number Divorces	*Divorces per 100,000 pop.*	*Marriages per 100,000 pop.*	*Marriages per one divorce*
1870	10,962	28	——	——
1880	19,663	39	——	——
1890	33,461	53	909	17.1
1900	55,751	73	930	12.8
1906	72,062	84	1,024	12.2
1916	112,036	112	1,055	9.4
1923	165,226	149	1,100	7.3
1924	170,952	152	1,050	6.9
1925	175,449	152	1,030	6.8
1926	180,868	154	1,026	6.7

While such figures are not to be taken as conclusive they do seem to point to the fact that either we have already passed the peak and are now on the decline or that if we have not already passed the top we will soon do so.

We must recognize the fact that we have been and still are in a period of transition and as a result we should expect a high divorce rate. After we have settled down to a new state of affairs when marriage will be the result of mutual love and respect, and family life will be looked upon as a partnership for life on an equal basis of mutual responsibility and service, we can naturally expect that unions will be made with greater care and greater marital happiness will result. If people were truly happy, they would not even need any marriage bonds to hold them; in fact, they would continue to live together if there were none.

Who Are Divorced?—1. As we naturally should suppose in view of the greater strain upon family life, divorces are granted much more frequently in cities than in rural sections. This is not true, however, in some cities where there are large numbers of immigrants, who have not as yet adopted our customs and who are generally adherents of the Roman Catholic Church. The liability of family friction is increased by cramped dwellings, nerve strain, financial worry, opportunities to spend money, the inclination to seek pleasure outside of the family circle, late hours, separation during the most of the day, renting instead of owning homes, especially furnished apartments, and the buying of food in restaurants and delicatessen stores instead of home cooking. These and other urban conditions make it only natural that divorce should be more common in cities than in the country.

2. Statistics show that divorce is almost twice as frequent in homes that have no children as among families that have. Children give the parents something in common, something to love, somebody else to work for; thus they keep the minds of the parents off themselves and encourage altruism. In fact, the possession of children develops the finest qualities of the human soul; parents endure things—even unhappiness—for the sake of their children, being unwilling to spoil their future. Then again, although it is a fact seldom mentioned, childlessness may be a sign of previous unfaithfulness and im-

morality; the couple may not be able to have children. This in itself would bring about unhappiness. If a wife finds out that she cannot have children because her husband sowed his wild oats years before, she naturally will lose her love for him. Formerly she was blamed for barrenness, but nowadays she is able to find out the real reason. Married couples who are too selfish to have children are the very ones who are too selfish to live happily together.

3. Religion plays an important part. Because the Roman Catholic Church forbids divorce, we naturally find the fewest cases among its adherents. Protestants say the least about it and have practically no church laws forbidding it, so we find them at the head of the list. The Jews follow the Protestants. In sections where religious control is great we naturally look for a lower divorce rate. Religion is, however, playing a less important role in this respect than formerly.

4. Divorce is greater among native whites than foreign-born whites because of the larger percentage of Roman Catholics among the immigrants, and because of the fact that the newcomers have not yet adopted our ideas and customs. Women among the immigrants endure things the native American woman would not think of enduring.

5. For the past forty years two-thirds of the divorces have been granted to the wife. In former times it was the husband who sought divorce. This does not mean that the fault is two-thirds of the time with the husband. If the divorce is agreed upon between them, it is the wife who usually seeks it because of the greater chance she has of obtaining it. Moreover modern laws in the United States favor her more than the husband, allowing divorce for cruelty, drunkenness, adultery, desertion, non-support, etc.; so it is harder for a man to get a divorce. It is also a greater disgrace to the wife if the husband sues for the divorce. Courts are much more lenient with women than with men. Because man is stronger he can be cruel if he desires; it would be more difficult for the wife to be cruel.

It is also easier for a man to desert his family. The temptation to adultery and drunkenness is greater; so it is only natural that he should be the guilty party in the majority of cases. If the home is unhappy, it affects the wife more, for she has to live in it; the husband can be away much of the time.

6. As to occupation, we find that the rate among farmers, teachers, most professional people and many skilled trades is below normal. On the other hand, actors, commercial travelers, professional showmen, bartenders, musicians, physicians, and telephone and telegraph operators furnish far above the average number. Where the occupation brings with it greater strain upon the family ties we find greater divorce rates. Also those occupations which attract temperamental persons, such as actors and musicians, naturally furnish a high divorce rate.

Grounds for Divorce.—It must be clearly understood that there is a difference between grounds for divorce and causes for divorce. By grounds we mean the legal bases upon which divorce may be obtained. These need not be necessarily the reasons; the real reasons may never be disclosed in the court room, and frequently are not. In all there are thirty-six different grounds for divorce recognized by the laws of the various states, ranging in number from one (adultery) in New York, to fourteen in New Hampshire. While some states grant divorce on trivial grounds, such as incompatibility of temper, ninety-five per cent of the divorces are granted for such grave reasons as desertion, adultery, cruelty, imprisonment for crime, habitual drunkenness and non-support. The following statistics will give a better idea of the importance of the various legal grounds. Figures are for the year 1922.

Grounds for Divorce	*Per Cent*	*Per Cent to Men*	*Per Cent to Women*
Desertion	32.8	44.3	27.4
Cruelty	34.5	25.	39.
Unfaithfulness	10.9	17.6	7.7
Drunkenness	1.	.3	1.4
Non-support	4.2	—	6.2
Combinations of preceding grounds	8.7	4.6	10.6
All other grounds	7.8	8.3	7.6

From these data it will easily be seen that the fault is not so much with the laxity of our laws as with the decay of our family life. While drunkenness is given in a few cases, it formerly figured as a contributing cause in one-third of the divorces granted to the wife for cruelty, and in one-fifth of the non-support cases, and as an indirect cause in 18.3 per cent of the divorces granted to the wife. The reason why unfaithfulness is given by the man more frequently than by the wife is that our double standard of morals makes it more difficult to secure evidence against the man than against the woman. On the other hand, the number of divorces granted for cruelty and non-support has nearly doubled. The increase in the ratio of divorces granted to the husband on grounds of cruelty has increased from 8.4 per cent for the years from 1887 to 1896 to 12.3 per cent in 1906, 17.4 per cent in 1916 and 25 per cent in 1922. Desertion as a ground for divorce has fallen off slightly for both husband and wife; likewise adultery, those granted to the husband falling from 30.8 per cent for the years from 1887 to 1896 to 17.6 per cent in 1922; and for those granted to the wife, from 10.6 per cent to 7.7 per cent for the same years. These figures do not tell the story of the reasons for the failure of marriage but the stories told the judge in order to fit in with the law.

The fact that divorce has increased does not necessarily mean that family life is less happy or less successful than it ever has been. It means rather that more is demanded, especially by the wife. Conduct which was formerly overlooked is now considered sufficient grounds for divorce. The wife demands not only chastity and freedom from excessive abuse on the part of the husband, but also a partnership in the family for herself. The husband also demands self-sacrifice and loyalty. While formerly man and wife expected to live together, now they demand that they be able to live together happily. The general increase of education makes this demand all the more important. We are living on a higher moral plane than in the past and the increase in divorce is merely an evidence of it.

Causes for the Increase in Divorce.—The question arises, Why has the United States such a high divorce rate?

What is there about our civilization which works havoc with the stability of our family ties? Some of the reasons are undoubtedly the following:

1. *High Standard of Living Required in the United States.*—The demand for not only the necessities of life but for comforts as well, although thoroughly desirable, brings about friction. It tends to limit the size of families, hence produces a greater risk of unhappiness. Women to-day are not contented unless they receive the comforts and often the luxuries of life. When these are impossible, disappointment ensues; too often this leads to the divorce court. The higher standard of morality and family life in general also leads to dissatisfaction.

2. *Increased Cost of Living.*—An increase in financial strain is closely related to the high cost of living. Worry over finances brings about friction. Wages are slower to increase than prices, so often while the expenses are increasing the income is stationary. This problem is accentuated when the husband does not take his wife into partnership with him in regard to the finances; when as a result she does not understand this financial strain, she does not appreciate the worry of the husband. Too often the wife, ignorant of true values, is consequently extravagant and not worthy to be taken into partnership, even if her husband so desires. Girls are too little trained to recognize the real value of money; not having to earn it, they do not know how to spend it. Formerly the wife left financial matters to the husband, now she is demanding an equal voice in the financial management, but very often she is not capable of handling finances wisely. This causes friction and is one reason for the increase in the number of divorces granted for non-support and desertion.

3. *Growth of Modern Industrialism.*—The new industrial system has made it possible for women to obtain employment and thus become independent. This condition has tended to break up the home. When the wife enters industry, the home is disrupted and little attention is paid to household matters. The wife does not have the time to prepare the meals or to keep the house tidy. Consequently

the home is less attractive. Then, too, when girls enter industry, they neglect to learn domestic arts; so when they marry they do not know how to cook, sew, take care of children, or keep house. The home thus becomes uninviting and married life unsuccessful.

4. *Growth of Woman's Individualism.*—The growth of woman's independence, already considered as a problem of the family, has tended to increase family jealousy, especially if the wife is also a bread winner and is economically independent of the husband. Other contributing factors are the feminist and woman-suffrage movements, which are evidences of a change to which we have not as yet adjusted ourselves.

5. *The Rapid Growth of Cities.*—As has been shown, the movement of population to the city has undoubtedly been one of the causes of the increase in divorce, for it has increased the overcrowding and otherwise disturbing influences and has thus tended to break up home life.

6. *Late Marriages.*—Postponement of marriage lessens the possibility of happiness. Not only do women become self-supporting and thus economically independent, but those who marry late in life find it more difficult to adjust themselves to the new relationship. After people pass the age of thirty their habits become crystallized; it is very difficult for them to change their views and manners of living. They become accustomed to having things just so, and think that their happiness depends upon having them that way. If they married before these habits had become fixed, the man and woman might easily adjust themselves to each other.

This condition seems to be growing worse: the time required for preparation for a professional career is constantly lengthening. After four years in high school the student requires four more for college, then three or four for the professional school. Even with the combination of these latter two periods in the modern university, six years are required to prepare for law and seven or eight for medicine; and that is not all, for it takes from one to three years for one to become established. For medicine, one or

two years in a hospital are generally considered to be necessary, then one or two more to acquire a practice. As it works out, the ordinary professional man has reached the age of thirty, or is approaching it, before he can think of getting married. This situation lessens the chances of happiness. At present we can see no remedy for this condition. Possibly the future will present a workable plan by which couples may marry and still continue their professional training.

7. *Decay of Religious Control.*—While, in the belief of the present writer, religion is not decaying, but is growing purer and loftier, the control of the church is decreasing. Religion is becoming more a personal matter. Marriage is being considered less a religious ceremony. The various churches are preaching less urgently against divorce. It is not now considered so much a violation of divine command as it was formerly.

8. *Increased Knowledge of the Law.*—Formerly people did not know that they could be freed from marriage bonds; now they know that they can. Hence many who, a few generations ago, would not have thought about divorce now seek separation. There is less fear or awe of the courts now than formerly; the press and popular magazines have familiarized the common people with legal processes. Hence divorces are more freely sought.

9. *The Granting of Divorce on Trivial Grounds.*—The letting down of legal barriers to divorce, and the change in public opinion regarding the gravity of marriage and divorce, are considered by many as influential causes of divorce increase. Canada and England are cited as examples of countries where divorce laws are strict and where as a result there are few divorces. This phase of the question has probably been over-emphasized. The increase of divorce is due more to the breaking down of home life than to the laxity of our laws. Some point to the lax laws of a few states, especially Nevada, and assert that people rush to such states for divorce; but this rush is exaggerated, for few go outside of their own state to be divorced; in fact, only about one-fifth of the divorces are granted outside

of the state in which the couple were married. If courts are lax it is because public opinion to a large extent demands or at least allows that laxity. Often our courts are overburdened with work and cannot give a divorce case the attention that should be given it, as is evidenced by the fact that the average time allowed for a divorce case is something like fifteen minutes. At any rate, divorces are exceedingly easy to obtain.

On the whole, the United States, with its varied life, hustle and bustle, high nervous tensions, and rapid growth of cities and industry, may be a country in which we should naturally expect to find a high divorce rate. Our condition, indeed, may not be quite so abnormal as one would think at first glance. Being in the transition stage, we need not be unduly alarmed about a high divorce rate. There will be more cause for alarm, however, if divorce keeps on increasing, especially if it reaches the percentage forecast Professor Willcox. If it brings with it an increase in immorality such as it did in Rome, and if family relations become lax, then there will be cause for alarm. As yet that condition has not appeared in this country. Immorality is not so serious as it was fifty years ago, when we had few divorces. The moral condition in this country is constantly growing better.

Results of Divorce.—Some of the results of divorce are noticeable, such as the increase in juvenile delinquency. A child needs the care and attention of both parents, and when the home is broken up it does not get them. Sometimes it is better for the child if the parents separate than if they live in a state of constant quarreling and fighting; but when we come to examine conditions in the families from which come the inmates of our reform schools and the children who appear before the juvenile courts, we find that the majority of these unfortunates come from homes that have been broken up. Professor Ellwood, in an investigation made in 1909, found that of the 7575 children in thirty-four state reform schools 29.6 per cent came from families in which there had been divorce or desertion; 33 per cent in which one of the parents was dead; and 38 per

cent from homes demoralized by drink, vice, or crime. Only a few came from homes that were perfectly normal. Of 4278 children investigated in four juvenile courts, 23.7 came from homes in which there had been divorce or desertion, while 27.8 per cent came from homes in which only one parent was living or both parents were dead. The same was true of inmates of homes for dependent children, for in thirty-two institutions investigated it was found that 24.7 per cent of the children were from homes in which there had been divorce or desertion, while 47.5 per cent had lost one or both parents. In short, it requires the care of more than one parent to bring up a child and produce a normal, well-rounded adult. When broken into, the family fails in its function, and some other institution, such as the juvenile court, has to step in to perform its duties.

If the evil caused by the breaking up of a family is not corrected by the juvenile court or some other institution, the child drifts into still more lawless ways, and instead of appearing before the juvenile court he arrives in the adult court and goes to the penitentiary. History shows that immorality follows lax family conditions, and while immorality is on the decline in the United States at present, it would decrease still faster if we held ourselves to a plane of high family morality.

Remedies Suggested.—Since the trouble arises from the decay of family life, it is difficult to suggest remedies. There is no one cause that can be held responsible. The causes are too numerous and the trouble too deep-rooted to be weeded out by any legal action or by any one program of action. Some people take an extreme position and say that the fault is not with divorce but with the family as an institution; that instead of limiting divorce we should make divorce absolutely free and allow any couple to separate, if they care to do so, and that it is a greater crime to compel a couple to live together unhappily than to allow them to separate. While there is truth in this viewpoint it is a dangerous policy to advocate, for the practice would merely cover up immorality and put the cloak of decency and legality upon all forms of vice and sexual laxity. It would

rob the marriage bond of its sacredness. As stated previously, the source of the trouble is not altogether with our laws or lack of them; however, certain legal measures might be advantageous, even if they did not solve the problem. Among legal measures often suggested are the following:

1. *A Universal Marriage and Divorce Law.*—Instead of each state having a different code there should be one Federal code for marriage and divorce to cover the whole country. Under our present condition if a couple cannot obtain a divorce in one state, they can move into another; if they cannot marry in their own state, all they have to do is to go into another. This is especially true of marriages under the legal age and of marriages after divorce. Some states forbid marriage for one or two years after divorce. Under such conditions the couple go to a state which does not put such obstacles in Cupid's way. This practice lowers the prestige of the law besides compromising the sanctity of marriage. It is argued on the basis of such considerations that marriage and divorce are national questions rather than state ones. Yet there are objections to a national code. Conditions are different in the various states and what might be fair and just in West Virginia might not be in Massachusetts, and what might be needed in New York might be just the opposite in New Mexico. Then, too, if such a code should be drafted, at best it would only be an average code. Some states have strict codes and others do not, and a code which would be accepted by the majority would be only an average one, and would lower the standard upheld in some states. On the whole, a uniform marriage and divorce code, provided a really strict code could be adopted, would probably be a step in the right direction, but it would be very difficult to get such a code adopted. It is more a question of expediency than of theory.

2. *Court of Domestic Relations.*—Another reform measure which is meeting with popular favor, and which is being adopted in our large cities, is that of a court of domestic relations. Such a court has a special judge who gives all his or her (such a judge is frequently a woman) time to

domestic cases. All divorce cases and suits involving family troubles come before this court. Its machinery is directed especially to the handling of this type of work. Time is taken to look into the cases, and instead of trying to dispose of them by granting the divorce in the shortest possible time, the court tries to remedy the trouble, and if possible reconcile the husband and wife and induce them to live together. Very often the cause is trivial and can be easily remedied; in fact, a large percentage of the cases coming before the Domestic Relations Court of Chicago are settled out of court, the cases being dropped from the docket.

One objection to such a remedy is that it often comes too late to do any good, the case not being brought into court until the breach has developed beyond repair. In connection with this court has developed the practice of hiring a divorce proctor, whose duty it is to inquire carefully into the family life of the applicants for divorce, in order to see if there is any fraud, to ascertain whether the grounds given in the application are really the true causes, and to find out if there is any collusion between the husband and wife, such, for example, as the husband leaving home for a time sufficient to constitute legal grounds for divorce for desertion. In Kansas City, such a proctor cut down the number of divorces granted 30 per cent. Such work does an enormous amount of good in checking the granting of divorces for trivial reasons and in preventing the unnecessary breaking up of homes. It does not, however, get at the root of the problem, or stop marital unhappiness, which is the real problem. Measures for the alleviation of the trouble do not abolish the causes that produce the problem. Their use should be extended, but they should not be relied upon to solve the difficulty.

3. *Restricting the Grounds for Divorce.*—Those who advocate restricting the grounds for divorce would make divorce harder to obtain by limiting them to the five or six most serious, i.e., adultery, crime, cruelty, drunkenness, desertion, and non-support. While this restriction might reduce the number of divorces, it would not solve the prob-

lem; it would merely cover it up. It would be like easing the pain of a broken leg without trying to set the bone.

4. *The Requirement of a Stated Time before Remarriage.*—The requirement of an intervening period of one or two years before remarriage would put a damper on trying to obtain a divorce in order to marry somebody else. If in addition the divorce were not made completely operative till a year or two after being granted, and became null and void if the couple decided to live together again, it would give the couple a chance to reconsider and would make reunion less troublesome and less spectacular. Such requirements are all very well, but they do not solve—they merely alleviate. They would undoubtedly remedy a few cases, but not many.

5. *The Placing of Restrictions upon Marriage.*—The forbidding of marriage to those afflicted with venereal disease, to defectives, to those exhibiting too great differences in age or race, to immature persons, and to persons with insufficient means—such restrictions deal with the real sources of the trouble, the marriage of those unfitted for each other. The solution lies in the prevention of unwise mating of people, rather than in the separation of those already mated. A few states have such laws to-day, particularly those laws requiring a medical examination before marriage, and those forbidding the marriage of insane and feeble-minded. Also, most states forbid the marriage of the very young without parental consent. It is to the extension of such laws that we must look for our greatest reform. But in this regard public opinion is stronger than law. If we have the laws without public opinion back of them, they will become dead letters. On the other hand, if public opinion demands these regulations strongly enough, there will be little need of such laws. It is this public opinion which needs our attention and fostering. We do not put enough stress upon the importance and real meaning of marriage. We too often rush into it without any thought of the future, merely being captivated by a pretty face, a fat pocket-book, or a dashing manner. If people moved towards marriage less hastily, made more careful

plans for the future, and really understood the partners they had chosen for life, there would be fewer people rushing to the divorce courts.

6. *Moral Education.*—It is to moral education that we must look for the principal remedy of the divorce evil. Habits, customs, and ideals are the results of public opinion; public opinion can be molded by education, not by laws. Law is merely the reflection of public opinion, not the creator of it. It takes times and effort to build up public sentiment. The press, magazines, lectures, books, churches, and schools have to be brought into use. And it is through such mediums that we must look for the solution of this problem, just as for the solution of any other problem. There are causes back of problems, and these have to be considered and dealt with. The present divorce evil is merely the symptom of a disorganized home. This disorganized home is largely the result of a readjustment to new conditions, the change from the remnant of the old patriarchal family to the family of partnership, love, and co-operation.

As soon as the public becomes educated to this change, gets accustomed to it, and prefers it to any other condition, then the divorce problem will disappear. If marriage is based upon mutual love and appreciation, and the home is held together by sympathy and co-operation, there will be less desire for separation. Under our present conditions divorce is not necessarily bad. If the home is unhappy and the real functions of the family cannot be performed, it is often a blessing to break up that home. While children complicate the situation it is impossible to forbid divorce to those having children; it would be absurd to have one standard for the families with children and another for those who are childless, for the establishment of such a distinction would merely put a premium upon childlessness. Efforts should be made to limit divorce to those cases where family ties are irretrievably broken. Divorce should be discouraged rather than encouraged. The teaching of domestic science and education for parenthood should be encouraged in our public schools.. The church,

instead of preaching against the sins of divorce, should try to remedy the conditions which cause it. The spread of the knowledge of venereal diseases, the stamping out of vice, the abolishing of the liquor traffic, extension of the work of visiting nurses, remedying the causes of poverty and crime—in fact the extension of all agencies which are working for a purer and nobler life and a loftier and more efficient civilization—such should be the program of those craving better family relationships. The schools, the churches, and all altruistic organizations should struggle to carry out such a program, rather than to bring about legislative reforms. Let them create a spirit of altruism in the public mind; then the problem will solve itself.

Desertion.—Another form of family disorganization, similar to that of divorce, is desertion. It is often referred to as "the poor man's divorce." While there is some justification for this, since among some of the poorer classes it unquestionably is used as a substitute for divorce, it has other characteristics. The wealthy or professional classes go to the court for legal separation in spite of the social risk involved, because of the greater risk, in fact, almost professional ruin, involved in desertion. Unskilled and factory workers are not so handicapped and often find desertion easier and more attractive; in fact, it is often an easy matter for them to pack up and leave an intolerable or uncomfortable family situation. Desertion is also used as a temporary escape from too heavy a load or too disagreeable a condition of work.

A number of studies have been made of family desertion, chiefly in connection with charitable or relief agencies. Among these is a study by Eubank,[3] who found among other things the following facts and conditions:

1. Desertion is chiefly a city problem. Here restraining influences are fewer and temptations greater. Family unity and solidarity have broken down and discontent is greater and desertion is merely a form which this discontent or disorganization takes.

[3] Eubank, Earle E., *A Study of Family Desertion*, Department of Public Welfare, Chicago, 1916.

2. More men than women desert. This is due not so much to a greater desire of the male to desert as to the better opportunities afforded him and the greater ease in leaving the children. The children and the lack of a chance to get free hold the wife. If she does desert it is generally to run off with another man.

3. Although certain races or nationalities, such as the Jews and negroes, show higher ratios, and others, particularly the Italians and Scandinavian groups, have lower ratios, desertion is not a phenomenon of race, religion or sect.

4. While economic instability leads to desertion it is not wholly a problem of the poor and is found among some of the high wage groups. While economic maladjustment and instability lead to desertion it is not primarily the result of economic conditions. In fact it sometimes increases with prosperity and is low in periods of depression.

The typical deserted family consists of a wife and two or three small children. The family is generally an unsuccessful one. The husband is generally erratic, improvident and often drunken and more or less worthless. The wife is often a poor wife and mother, generally untrained, a poor housekeeper, often in poor health, and frequently a complaining and nagging wife, partly as a result of home conditions and partly because of her nature. At times we can hardly blame the husband for leaving home. Also, while it may seem strange, husbands even go away because they feel that instead of supporting or aiding the family they feel that they are a drag and hindrance, because they cannot get work or cannot support their families. While the motives of such people may be altruistic this is hardly a desirable solution.

Efforts have been made by charitable organizations and the law to bring the deserter home and compel him to support his family. While we cannot permit a man to thus evade his responsibilities, such means are hardly the best for solving the problem. Desertion, like divorce, is the result of a disorganized home and the problem can only be solved by recognizing the dissolution or in bringing to-

gether again the entire family into a harmonious union. To do this, punitive and legal measures are seldom successful for they neither remove the causes for the original condition nor create a favorable environment for the future. What hope we have in solving this problem will come along the lines of improving the economic opportunities, providing decent living conditions, and in the education of the young to the greater realization of their responsibilities and in better fitting them for successful married life. In brief, the very means of solving the divorce problem will go a long way towards solving the problem of desertion.

Family Income.—In our study of the divorce problem we found that difficulties centering in the family income were one of the leading causes of divorce. We shall find the same factors operative in other problems, such as poverty, crime, immorality, drunkenness, and sickness. The family income fixes the standard of living, affects the health of the entire family, and determines the size, convenience, healthfulness and location of the house in which the family lives. Because it determines the amount and quality of food, it affects the physical stamina. It likewise governs the clothing worn, not only as to the style and cut but also as to quality and comfort. It determines the amount of education the children shall obtain, whether they can go on to high school, college, or training school, even whether they can go to school at all, or whether they will be forced into industry in order to add to the income. It decides whether the mother may remain at home, or must go into industry to supply the deficiency in the husband's income. It provides or fails to provide the health, wealth, pleasures, prosperity, and efficiency, not only of the present generation, but of the future generations as well. It determines whether or not the next generation will be stunted physically, mentally and morally. If the father cannot earn enough for the family, and if the wife and young children are forced into industry, the very purpose of the home is defeated.

Various estimates have been made as to the income nec-

essary for maintaining the standard of decency required of the average family in different parts of the United States. It was estimated in 1913 that an income of $800 a year was required to enable a family to live in the stock-yards district of Chicago. The street cleaning department of New York a little later estimated that at least $840 a year was needed for a member of that force to support the average family of five. It was also calculated that for a family to live before the war in the average small town of about 5000 population an income of $600 a year was necessary. All of these estimates were probably fairly accurate. Yet how many unskilled men were able to earn even the $600 necessary to live in the average small town? The wage for day labor ranged from $1.25 to $2.50 a day and on the average was about $1.75 or $2.00 per day, depending upon the demand. If the laborer earned $2.00 a day and worked on an average 250 days a year—an extremely high average—he failed to make the $600 required. This meant that the extra $100 had to be earned by the wife or children, or the family did without, unless the husband was able to earn part of it by means of a garden or some other home industry. The average wage in the stock-yards district of Chicago was not far from $7.50 a week, and if the worker was employed forty weeks in a year—a high average again—he could earn only about $300 of the requisite $800.

These illustrations are merely taken at random. The same condition existed everywhere. The white worker in the South could not earn a living wage. The railroads of this country before the war did not pay living wages to their section hands; the mills of our manufacturing cities did not pay their common help enough to support families. The department stores did not give their clerks sufficient even to support themselves. The wife of the average laboring man was compelled to supplement her husband's income by going into a factory, working for her neighbors, taking in washing, or some such means. This meant that she could not attend to home duties as she should, and that the children were neglected. It meant also that the chil-

dren did not have any opportunity to better their condition. There was certainly something vitally wrong with our whole industrial system if we did not allow the laboring man to earn enough to support a family in decency; yet such was the condition under normal times.

This matter of income affects not only the laboring man but nearly all classes. It is often just as hard for a professional man to make both ends meet according to the standard demanded of him as it is for the laboring man. The minister who received only $600 a year, and the university instructor who received but $1000, had as big a problem as the laboring man with $2.00 a day. Yet such salaries have been quite common. Many ministers have received less than $600, and many of our universities have been shortsighted enough to offer instructors but $900 or $1000 a year, with the result that their best-trained men often left them to go to smaller institutions or into other work. The ethics of offering a minister a salary of $500 or $600 a year, or a university instructor one of $900 or $1000, seems about on a par with that of the department store superintendent who offered the salesgirl a salary of $5 or $6 a week, and when she complained that she could not live on it, asked her if she hadn't a gentleman friend to help support her; or with that of the superintendent who boasted that his store employed only girls who lived at home. For such salaries absolutely forbade the professional man to support a family on the standard required of him. It meant that he was forbidden to marry, or if he married that he was denied the luxury of children. Our churches and universities were supposed to teach morals and ethics, while at the same time they contributed to some of the problems that society was trying to solve.

During the World War, prices of practically all commodities rose, some of course going higher than others, but the cost of living practically doubled, in fact, in some places went considerably higher. So if the pre-war estimates for a minimum standard of living in different sections of the country and in different industries were doubled, the result would not be far from representing

the condition of affairs in the latter part of 1919 and the early part of 1920. At that time $1200 would probably have been a minimum for a working man's family in the average small town in the United States. In some places where food was abundant and rent had not advanced very much, a man might possibly support a family on less, but in many places more would be necessary. For a professional man or any representative of the so-called "middle class," $1800 would have been possibly a conservative estimate of the necessary minimum.

Professor Paul H. Douglas[4] has classified various budgetary studies under the four headings, (1) poverty, (2) minimum of subsistence level, (3) subsistence-plus, or minimum health and decency level, and (4) minimum of comfort level. This classification is given on the next page.

To meet the war-time increase in prices, wages in many industries went up in proportion. In some lines, especially the manufacture of munitions and other industries engaged in war work, wages more than met the advance in prices. In many others wages were much slower to rise and for a long time in many lines did not advance at all. Business men took advantage of the shortage of commodities and the increased demand to increase their earnings in many cases at an enormous rate. On the other hand, professional men, especially those engaged on salaries, were perhaps the hardest hit of all, for their salaries did not increase in proportion to the increase in prices. In some lines they did not advance at all because of the decrease in demand; this was especially true of teachers until the war was over. In other professions salaries increased but slightly until towards the end of the war, or after it. In general, the wages of working men in factories and in industry barely kept up with increased prices; salaries did not do so.

After the World War conditions settled down upon a peace basis and a new equilibrium began to develop. Prices began to fall in 1920 and with some upward fluctuations

[4] Douglas, Paul H., *Wages and the Family*, pp. 7–8, 1925, Univ. of Chicago Press.

Time	Place	Author of Study	Amount of Budget			
			Poverty	Subsistence	Subsistence Plus Health and Decency	Comfort
1905	New York	More			$728	
1907	New York	Chapin			825	
1909	Mill towns, Georgia and North Carolina	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics	$408			
1909	Fall River	U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics	484			
1910	Chicago	Kennedy			800	
1913–15	Philadelphia	Cotton and Little			1070	
1914	New York	Streightoff		$876		
1914	Buffalo	Streightoff		772		
1915	New York	Bd. of Estimates and Apport			846	
1917	New York	Bd. of Estimates and Apport		980		
1917	San Francisco	Peixotto			1476	
1917	Seattle	Ogburn			1506	
1917	New York	Bellevue Hospital		1018		
1918	Eastern Industrial Centers	Ogburn		1386	1760	
1918	Philadelphia	Beyer			1637	
Aug., 1919	Washington	U. S. Bureau Labor Statistics				$2262
Oct., 1919	Fall River	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd		1268	1574	
Nov., 1919	Lawrence, Mass	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd		1386	1658	
Jan., 1920	Bituminous Mining Towns	Ogburn				2244
Jan., 1920	West Hoboken, etc	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd		1610		
Feb., 1920	3 Carolina Cotton Towns	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd		1410		
May, 1920	Cincinnati	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd			1692	
June, 1920	Worcester	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd			1733	
Oct., 1920	Chicago	Council of Social Agencies			1666	2322
Nov., 1920	New York	Labor Bureau, Inc				2633
1920	Meriden, Conn	Associated Charities		1430		
1920	San Francisco, Los Angeles and Sacramento	Blum and Peixotto				2292
1921	San Francisco, Los Angeles and Sacramento	Blum and Peixotto				2050
Mar., 1921	Harlem, N. Y	Labor Bureau, Inc				2335
Aug., 1921	Philadelphia	Beyer			1847	
Sept., 1921	Detroit	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd			1698	
Mar., 1921	Philadelphia	Labor Bureau, Inc				2385
June, 1921	Schenectady	Labor Bureau, Inc				2067
Nov., 1921	Chicago	Labor Bureau, Inc				2446
Feb., 1922	Anthracite Region of Pennsylvania	Nat. Ind. Conf. Bd			1322	
Mar., 1923	Chicago	Council of Social Agencies		1170		

they declined till we are now apparently getting down to a new price level somewhat more than 50 per cent above the 1913 level. Whether prices will continue slowly to drop or whether they will go back to a higher level depends upon future developments. The sociological questions which interest us are how prices and wages compare, and how people are able to maintain their standards of living. In general, the common or unskilled laborer is decidedly better off now than before the war, but this is chiefly the result of the restriction of immigration. The skilled laborer is better off, because the unions have been able to hold many of the increases obtained during the war, but his position is not nearly as good as during the war, chiefly because of the greater demand for such labor then and the present inability to work as many days during the year. The salaried and professional classes were the hardest hit of all during the war and many left these professions. Salaries rose after the war and in many lines their position is decidedly improved. This was true in regard to the ministry, those in public service and the teaching profession, particularly in the upper classes. There is now going on the process of reaching a new equilibrium. In some lines wages are actually falling, as is the case with coal miners, because of the over-supply of laborers. In other lines wages are rising. This result will depend upon the bargaining position of the workers and the value placed by society upon the products of their labor. Society pays for what it wants.

In looking over the budgets given above it was probably noticed that there was an increasing tendency to recognize the higher standards as time passed. This seems to be the general situation in this country. Not only are workers demanding standards of subsistence, even comfort, instead of bare existence, but this demand is being recognized by the public and the employers. It is being found to be good business to pay high wages, for the workers will do more and better work and also will spend this increase in wages in buying more goods.

Before leaving the subject of income it might be mentioned that practically all modern family budgets for the

United States are made for a family of five, consisting of husband, wife and three small children or three children too young to earn. It is, of course, open to question in regard to whether this is scientific. Many families of workingmen have more than three children, also many have under three; also in many families there is more than one breadwinner. Another question arises as to whether industry can pay all laborers high enough wages to support a family of five. While many concerns and some industries obviously cannot do so, it is a question whether society can afford to permit such a concern or industry to continue. Also the question again arises as to whether the husband alone should be depended upon entirely to support his family.

Spending of Incomes.—In many ways the spending of an income is more important than the earning of it. Many families receive enough, but do not know how to spend wisely what they earn, wasting too much on useless purchases, such as liquor, tobacco, bargain sales when the articles bought are not needed, and extravagant luxuries. Some people always manage to get one hundred cents out of every dollar; others are able to get but fifty or sixty. Some people always pay more than others for the same thing. If our schools took up the teaching of real values and fair prices for ordinary articles, it might be of great help. Our settlements are taking up this work, and the visiting nurses are endeavoring to teach families how to spend their money. We see this difference in spending ability in all walks of life. Perhaps the college community furnishes as good an example as any other. Some students manage to get through college on one-half or one-third the amount of money others require, and seem to have as much to show for it in the end, often even more. Few college students know how to spend money wisely, especially if they can get an ample supply from home and do not have to worry about earning it.

Family Budgets.—Several different methods of investigating family expenditures have been adopted with varying degrees of success. Some of these are:

1. *The Le Play Method,* originated by a French sociol-

ogist who would go to the community to be studied and live with a family which he had selected as a representative family. While living there, by means of questioning the family and the neighbors, he would find out what the family spent as nearly as he was able; learn what each article of furniture, each purchase of food, clothing, or fuel cost; what was spent for amusements, tobacco, intoxicants, and sundries. Usually it would take him a month to learn all these matters. While intensive and thorough, such a method might not be reliable, for the family might not be a representative one and the answers given might not be correct. It also requires a great deal of time.

2. *The Bücher Method.*—Bücher, a German sociologist, adopted the method of asking a few carefully chosen families to keep an account of their expenditures for a period of time. Then these would be taken and averaged and analyzed in detail in some way. One objection to such a system is that families thus selected, or in fact all families able to keep accurate accounts, might not be typical.

3. *The University of Chicago Plan.*—What is known as the University of Chicago plan has been used in the stockyards district of Chicago. This is an intensive system, going into details. It tries to find out exactly what is spent for each article of food and clothing and, in fact, every purchase of the family, classifying under different headings the cost of the clothes for each member of the family, the amount and cost of meat eaten, the amount spent on carfare, amusements, cooking utensils, etc. It, of course, requires the services of a trained investigator. Through the co-operation of the University of Chicago Settlement, this plan has been very successfully used in Chicago. One hundred typical families were selected at one time for study; they were asked to keep their accounts in a certain way for a certain length of time, and because of their respect for the settlement, and for Miss McDowell, the head of that settlement, they were generally willing to do this. Under favorable conditions where the co-operation of the families can be obtained and trained investigators are used, this plan is very successful. The United States Government employs a method very similar to this, only more

extensive and less intensive. Such budgets are necessary if we are to ascertain anything definite in regard to a standard of living.

The following is a table of necessities which must be provided for in the budget of every family maintaining a proper standard:

I. *Physical Needs.*

1. Food sufficient in quality and quantity to keep up efficiency.
2. Clothes sufficient to provide warmth, decency, and the degree of style required to enable one to hold one's place in the group.
3. Rent funds to provide for a house of adequate space to allow separation of the sexes, pure air, ventilation, and a location satisfactory as to drainage, sanitation, and healthful environment.
4. Fuel to supply proper warmth.
5. Light for reading purposes.
6. Medical attention, including that of dentist and oculist if necessary—not only for treatment of sickness but for prevention. As health improves the amount needed for this purpose decreases.
7. Recreation, variable in amount and kind, but sufficient to provide proper relaxation.
8. Insurance funds, not as a luxury but as a necessity. Provision must here be made for sickness, accident, and unemployment. There are two methods of providing this—by savings banks and insurance policies.

II. *Culture Needs, Sufficient to Fit for Life.*

1. Education, at least for every child during school age.
2. Technical education, to teach necessary trade or profession.
3. Adult culture, to permit keeping a proper position in one's social and intellectual life.

Few people before marriage consider the importance of budgets; possibly it is for the best, for if the problem of living were investigated many would not marry. But if it were considered more, there would be less poverty and misery to deal with, also less divorce. Of course the people who should consider it the most never do, and the ones who would get along satisfactorily anyway are the ones who give it the most careful consideration. But that condition is true of every phase of life; those who need warnings never heed them.

Many budgets have been made out for persons with different incomes. Many banks make a specialty of doing this and some of these are excellent, but most of them are made with some particular town or locality in view. When we apply any of these to our own particular family or community we meet with difficulties and find differences. The following budgets are offered by the writer for the typical family of five, father, mother and three children, ranging from three to twelve years of age. These are not given as definite, scientific budgets for any one particular place but are suggested in order to be of help to the student in working out his own estimate of expenditures. It must also be borne in mind that these are not made out to show how much a family needs to live on but show rather the other side of the picture of how a family should allot the income which is received. It does not mean that the amounts given for food or rent or even clothes will be sufficient to guarantee what the family ought to have, but rather how income should be spread out.

Twelve Hundred Dollars a Year

Rent at $25.00 a month	$300.00
Heat, light and water	75.00
Food at $40.00 a month	480.00
Clothes	200.00
Furniture and furnishings	30.00
Savings and insurance	30.00
Health and developmental	40.00
Miscellaneous	45.00
	$1,200.00

Eighteen Hundred Dollars a Year

Rent at $35.00 a month	$420.00
Heat, light and water	125.00
Food at $45.00 a month	540.00
Clothes	300.00
Furniture and furnishings	60.00
Savings and insurance	100.00
Health and developmental	100.00
Miscellaneous	155.00
	$1,800.00

Twenty-four Hundred Dollars a Year

Rent at $40.00 a month	$480.00
Heat, light, water and telephone	150.00
Food at $50.00 a month	600.00
Clothes	360.00
Furniture and furnishings	90.00
Automobile	300.00
Savings and insurance	125.00
Health and developmental	125.00
Miscellaneous	170.00
	$2,400.00

Three Thousand Dollars a Year

Rent at $50.00 a month	$600.00
Heat, light, water and telephone	180.00
Food at $55.00 a month	660.00
Clothes	450.00
Furniture and furnishings	120.00
Automobile	350.00
Savings and insurance	250.00
Health and developmental	180.00
Miscellaneous	210.00
	$3,000.00

The above is supposed to be made out for the average or typical town in the United States, but since that town does not exist in reality, these figures must be altered in order to fit local conditions. The amounts allotted for food and rent are altogether too low for many places and those for rent may be too high for others. The same is true in regard to heat, light, and water. The amounts allowed for savings will not satisfy the economical and thrifty, but will be far more than the average family actu-

ally does save. An automobile is not included before the twenty-four hundred dollar budget, although the average family purchases one long before that income is reached. It is omitted till then, because the writer cannot properly find room for it in any ordinary budget below that; in fact, it can hardly be afforded even then. When the automobile does appear at a lower income it generally means that the amount spent for it is taken out of the items for food, clothes, health, and savings, or else former savings are sacrificed in the way of mortgaging the home which has been paid for. As the income increases there will be room for new items to appear, such as servant hire. Also as prices fluctuate, variations must be made accordingly.

Infant Mortality.—Another family problem which is much less serious in the United States than in most countries is that of a high infant mortality. In past times this was very serious, only a small proportion of the children born surviving infancy. Even in early colonial times in this country this was the condition. It is also the state of affairs in many nations to-day, even in such countries as Italy, Austria, Spain, and Russia in normal times. During and since the war infant mortality reached horrible proportions, children dying in the devastated areas by the millions. Countries having low standards of living generally have high infant death-rates. This high death-rate among children is compensated for by a high birth-rate. But such a condition is deplorable as it holds the population upon a lower plane of civilization. Having a few children and rearing them to manhood and womanhood is preferable to giving birth to a large family and saving but a few of them. Investigations in American cities show that infant death rates are in inverse ratio to incomes; those with good incomes lose few children, while those with smaller incomes lose more, and those with incomes below the minimum standard of existence have an extremely high infant death-rate. Some of the causes of infant deaths are the following:

1. Heat—This is a condition hard to regulate, but its effects can be moderated.

2. Artificial Feeding—Chances of death are five or six times as great with artificially fed babies as with breast-fed babies.
3. Flies, which carry disease germs to the child, especially through its food. Modern campaigns of "swatting the fly," and, still more important, the removal of the breeding places of the fly, such as garbage cans, dump heaps, and waste and rubbish in general, are helping to rid the country of this pest.
4. Ignorance and uncleanliness in the preparation of artificial foods.
5. Pre-natal conditions, such as those arising from syphilis, gonorrhea, lead poisoning, alcoholism, and overwork.
6. The entrance of women into industry, producing a shorter time for rest before and after childbirth, and neglect of the child after birth.
7. Ignorance and carelessness of midwives and attendants, thus allowing infection and blood-poisoning.
8. Patent medicines.

Infant mortality can be and is being reduced by the elimination of the conditions which cause it, by work done by visiting nurses, and by the increase of general education in regard to the care of the children. Medical science is constantly discovering more causes of children's diseases and finding cures for the diseases. On the whole this is a problem with which we in the United States are grappling with increasing success. The 1920 census shows the greatest decline of mortality rates among all age groups, that of infants under one year of age declining from 13 per cent in 1910 to 9.66 per cent in 1920.

While this progress certainly is splendid, we are still excelled by Switzerland, under 8 per cent; Sweden, a trifle over 7.5 per cent; Denmark, under 7.5 per cent; Norway, 6 per cent; Australia, under 6 per cent, and New Zealand, which is apparently the world's safest place in which to be born, 4.5 per cent.

It is needless to say that there are other problems of the family, but we have tried to discuss the most significant.

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CHAPTER XIII

SOCIAL ACHIEVEMENT

Social achievement is a phase of sociology which, as a rule, is either completely ignored or over-emphasized. Professor Ward treated sociology as the study of human achievement and limited the scope of the science to that field, taking up the various institutions and showing their development. Other sociologists, on the other hand, ignore the development of society almost entirely and devote their efforts to analyzing present-day society. In this work we shall treat the evolution of society, including the origin and development of social institutions, as an important division of sociology. For, in order to understand present society, we must study the stages through which social institutions have passed. In our study of the family we found it profitable to review the history of the family before we took up the problems facing the family to-day. We treated the family as an institution first, because it was prior to all others and because its evolution has influenced all other phases of social development.

Stages of Social Evolution.—There have been many attempts to divide the progress of the world into stages and to classify the different peoples of the earth according to such a system. The most popular of these systems has been that which divides the past into the stone age, bronze age, and iron age, according to the materials used in the making of utensils and weapons. This classification is, of course, far too indefinite; it is also too rigid, and employs insufficient methods of comparison. Another classification often used, and one which is quite suggestive, is the following.

1. *Hunting and fishing stage*, when man lived by the direct appropriation of wild animal food. (Yet there must

have been a time before man had even learned to hunt or fish.)

2. *Pastoral stage,* when man lived from his flocks and herds, which he had learned to domesticate.

3. *Agricultural stage,* after man had acquired the ability to till the soil, and was thus able to add the fruits of cultivation to natural resources.

4. *Commercial stage,* after exchange and commerce had been developed.

5. *Industrial stage,* coming with the invention of machinery.

6. *Intellectual stage,* less carefully defined.

Such a classification is by no means bad; yet it allows no time limits and cannot be followed with any degree of accuracy. Often there have existed groups in which the women became agriculturalists while the men of the tribe still hunted and fished, as was the case with many of the American Indians. Then again the women may have continued to be agriculturalists while the men engaged in trading. Moreover, quite often some of these stages have been skipped entirely, such as pastoral life because of the lack of animals suitable for domestication, and agricultural life because of the lack of fertile soil, as found in Arabia and the region of the Sahara. So it is impossible to suppose that each race has passed through all these evolutionary stages.

Probably the best single classification so far attempted is that suggested by Lewis H. Morgan, which is as follows:[1]

I. *Status of Savagery.*

1. Lower period, beginning with the infancy of the human race. During this period articulate speech began and man lived on fruits and nuts. No races have been found in the process of passing through this period.
2. Middle period, which began with subsistence on fish and the use of fire, during which time man spread over the entire world. The Aus-

[1] *Ancient Society,* pp. 9–13, 1877 (Holt).

tralians and Polynesians when discovered represented this period.

3. Upper period, beginning with the use of the bow and arrow and ending with the employment of the art of pottery; this art Morgan believes to be the dividing line between savagery and barbarism. A few of the Indian tribes of North and South America represent this period, especially those of the Hudson Bay and Columbia River regions.

II. *Status of Barbarism.*

1. Lower period, which began with the use of the art of pottery, and included most of the Indian tribes east of the Missouri River.
2. Middle period, beginning with the domestication of animals in the Old World and agriculture in the New, and including the village Indians of New Mexico, Central America, and Peru.
3. Upper period, beginning with the smelting of iron ore and ending with the use of the phonetic alphabet, the invention of which marked the dividing line between barbarism and civilization. This included, according to Morgan, the Grecian tribes of the Homeric Age, the Italian tribes before the founding of Rome, and the Germanic tribes of the time of Cæsar.

III. *Status of Civilization,* dating from the invention of a phonetic alphabet, and extending to the present and on into the future.

If we make no attempt to assign any dates to these different periods we may find this classification very useful. It is by no means arbitrary and many exceptions may be allowed. It is impossible to determine whether a tribe is savage or barbarian simply upon the test of using pottery, for a tribe may have no clay with which to make the pot-

tery, while other tribes far less advanced may have an abundance of clay. The bow and arrow is just as faulty as a criterion, for the necessity or incentive for its invention may be entirely absent; the tribe may live on the seashore and use fish for food, and therefore have no reason or opportunity to hunt, while another tribe may be compelled to invent some method of obtaining game. Strict classification according to this standard would put many backward tribes above others that are really far more advanced in culture. In fact we must consider the influences of environment, such as the effect that grazing land would have in prolonging the pastoral life; the effect of fertility of soil in hastening or prolonging agriculture; and the effect of presence or absence of metals in metal working, before we make any attempt to classify according to any such criteria. The domestication of animals will allow a denser population than hunting and will lead to agriculture in many cases, thus permitting still denser population, and hastening commerce and trade. On the other hand it may discourage agriculture. Cultural development or progress is thus largely dependent upon geographic environment. Because of this it is very hazardous to classify a group because it has or does not have a certain definite invention or discovery. In short, it is impossible to make any hard-and-fast classification of the stages of social evolution. At best any such classification must be used only as an aid in our study; it must never be taken as an arbitrary rule.

Morgan[2] gives also a very interesting classification of the means of subsistence, showing successive changes in man's control over his food supply and thus indicating to a large extent his progress; for each advance in this direction gave him more time for intellectual development as well as a more stable and varied diet, thus not only affording protection against hunger and starvation but also allowing a chance for progress. Morgan's classification is as follows:

1. *Direct appropriation of the gifts of nature,* when man

[2] *Ancient Society,* Chap. II, pp. 19–28, 1877 (Holt).

lived upon what he was able to gather in the way of fruits, nuts, and roots.

2. *Fish subsistence,* which preceded hunting because the weapons of man were crude and ineffective against wild animals, and fish were easier to catch. This diet was later supplemented by meat obtained from hunting. This period sometimes was skipped because of geographic conditions.
3. *Farinaceous diet,* first composed of grains, gathered wild and later cultivated, then supplemented by vegetables.
4. *Meat and milk diet* obtained from domestic animals, particularly the cow, llama, camel, horse, goat, sheep, and reindeer.
5. *Unlimited subsistence* through field culture and the constant addition of new vegetables, grains, and fruits, such as the potato and maize.

There is no abrupt change from one stage to another; there are merely additions to the supply previously known, thus adding gradually to achievement and human happiness.

The Mind of Primitive Man.—The question constantly presenting itself to the student of social evolution is, what kind of a being was primitive man? As to his body, we have very little exact knowledge, for the fossil skeletons left by him are fragmentary, seldom amounting to more than one or two bones. But from these, by the use of our imagination, supported by history and tradition, we may regard him essentially as he is to-day, differing physically according to climatic and environmental conditions, which greatly influenced his manner of life along lines suggested in Chapters II and III. But what interests us still more in sociology is the kind of mind this primitive man had. Was his mind half human or was it equal or nearly equal, as far as mental capacity is concerned, to that of man to-day? Fortunately we have more evidence upon which to compare the mind of primitive man with the mind of modern man than we have with which to

compare the body, for we have material records of the institutions started by him and some of his inventions, for he left remains of his implements, his weapons, and his decorations. It is the generally accepted opinion among anthropologists, formed on the basis of this evidence, that primitive man had approximately the same mental capacity in meeting his difficulties and solving his problems as present-day man.

In connection with this problem arises the question, why is it that some races to-day are more advanced than others? Also, why have some races progressed and others have not? The answer is that some races have achieved more than others, not because they were more gifted mentally, but because they were more favorably situated geographically. They were thus able to borrow more, and so advanced more rapidly. With this in mind we cannot claim mental superiority for the white race on the ground of greater achievement. Geography and history are the causes of the superiority or domination of the European races, rather than innate mental capacity.

Primitive races are criticized for their lack of self-control, but if we examine the matter carefully we find that primitive man exercises control upon occasions when he deems control necessary, such as physical control under pain and torture, and endurance of hunger, thirst, and other discomfort. It is also asserted that primitive man is lacking in the ability to concentrate his attention, but this statement is controverted when we find that what civilized man considers as worthy of attention primitive man does not; and that the latter shows equal ability to concentrate upon those things which he considers of importance, such as the perfecting of some weapon with which to hunt, or the watching of habits of the animals which he hunts. Primitive man has also been criticized because of his lack of abstract ideas, but since he has no special need for them he fails to develop them, while civilized man has such a need.

It is not impossible that the degree of development of these functions may differ somewhat among different types of man; but

I do not believe that we are able at the present time to form a just valuation of the hereditary mental powers of the different races. A comparison of their languages, customs, and activities suggests that their faculties may be unequally developed, but the differences are not sufficient to justify us to ascribe materially lower stages to some peoples and higher stages to others. The conclusions reached from these considerations are, therefore, on the whole, negative. We are not inclined to consider the mental organization of different races of man as differing in fundamental points. Although, therefore, the distribution of faculty among the races of man is far from being known, we can say this much: the average faculty of the white race is found in the same degree in a large portion of the individuals of all the other races, and, although it is probable that some of these races may not produce as large a proportion of great men as our own race, there is no reason to suppose that they are unable to reach the level of civilization represented by the bulk of our own people.[3]

Uniform development of culture among all the different races of man and among all the tribal units is true in a limited sense only. . . . The assumption that the same forms must necessarily develop in every independent social unit can hardly be maintained. . . . Whether the representatives of different races can be proved to have developed each independently, in such a way that the representatives of some races stand on low levels of culture, while others stand on high levels, may be answered in the negative. If one should make an attempt to arrange the different types of man in accordance with their industrial development we should find representatives of most diverse races—such as the Bushmen of South Africa, the Veddah of Ceylon, the Australian, and the Indian of Tierra del Fuego—on the same lowest level. We should also find representatives of different races on more advanced levels, like the negroes of Central Africa, the Indians of the Southwestern Pueblos, and the Polynesians; and in our present period we may find representatives of the most diverse races taking part in the highest types of civilization. Thus it will be seen that there is no close relation between race and culture.[4]

On the whole we must accept the conclusion that the training of the mind, like the development of inventions, is largely a product of necessity, and that the savage is as intellectual as his environment compels him to be. The following quotation sums up very nicely our general conclusion in regard to comparative mental development:

[3] Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, pp. 122–123 (Macmillan, 1911).
[4] Boas, *Mind of Primitive Man*, pp. 195–196 (Macmillan, 1911).

The directions of mental attention and the simplicity or complexity of mental processes depend on the character of the external situation which the mind has to manipulate. If the activities are simple, the mind is simple, and if the activities are nil, the mind would be nil. The mind is nothing but a means of manipulating the outside world. Number, time and space conceptions and systems become more complex and accurate, not as the human mind grows in capacity but as activities become more varied and call for more extended and accurate systems of notation and measurement.[5]

Progress has been the result of environment and experience; the accumulation of knowledge and the piling up of achievement. Some peoples have come into contact with more varied conditions than others and hence have progressed faster. Improvements in the way of preserving and passing on knowledge and achievement, such as the inventions of alphabet, printing, and means of communication, have enabled man to progress more and more rapidly. This conclusion in regard to mental capacity is applicable to races and not to individuals in those races.

The Development of Language.—Language is an acquired characteristic, one which has to be learned by each individual. It was among the earliest of human institutions. By language we mean the power of rational communication in all its forms, whether oral, written, sign, or gesture; it is much broader than oral speech. The use of language is a distinctly human achievement, requiring rational capacity not possessed by animals. Language is the result of the struggle of men to understand each other. It is a product of the mind, yet it aids in the development of the mind; it is the result of thought; it is the attempt to express that thought; moreover language stimulates thought and thus leads to greater achievement. Language and social consciousness go together.

The language (so-called) of animals is chiefly one of interjections; that of early man was much the same, consisting of ejaculatory cries expressing the emotions, such as joy, hate, surprise, fear, love, or satisfaction. This

[5] Thomas, *Mind of the Savage*, in *Source Book for Social Origins*, p. 163 (Univ. of Chicago, 1909).

is not language, however, as we consider the term to-day, for it did not express thought but merely indicated emotion. After the interjection the noun was the next part of speech invented; it came as a result of the effort of man to name objects. Generally, names were suggested by some characteristic of the object, but not necessarily so. Often different persons in widely separated times or places would be impressed by different features of the same object, and there would result a difference in names. Sometimes there was no obvious connection between the object and the name, the name being merely a result of an effort to distinguish the object. After nouns verbs came in, expressing action; then later came words corresponding to the other parts of speech as we now know them. Spoken language developed gradually, but proceeded in all probability with greater rapidity as soon as a start was made. As man began to adopt a more or less settled place of abode and thus came to associate more constantly with his fellowmen, greater need of better means of communication became evident; and as a result of this need, language assumed by degrees a more definite form, and man's vocabulary gradually grew larger.

Communication with those present was not sufficient, and was not always possible even with spoken language, for languages differed; therefore, other means had to be adopted—the sign language, which became universal and possibly preceded spoken language. Besides man found a need to communicate with those at a distance both in space and in time, and so extensions of language had to be invented. As a result sign language by means of smoke signals or drum beats, such as are used by natives of Africa and formerly by the American Indians, came into use to overcome space distances. Written language was invented to enable those distant in both time and space to gain information. The first written language took the form of reminders, such as notches cut in sticks, which the messengers among the Australians carry, in order not to forget their message. The next step is picture or symbol language, pictures of objects being drawn, or symbols used

to designate them. The early writing of Egypt took this form. A later step was the invention of the phonetic alphabet, where symbols or letters represent sounds, like those in use to-day by civilized man. Another great step was the invention of printing—possibly as great an aid to civilization as the art of writing, for while writing allowed a record to be made of the past, printing put that record within the reach of all the people. Before writing came into use, all history, discoveries, and knowledge had to be handed down by word of mouth, which involved the risk of its being distorted and lost. Before printing was invented, records had to be copied laboriously by hand and thus were expensive and brought within the reach of only a few. Printing made knowledge democratic. Improvements in printing, which in the modern press, linotype and monotype machines have reached a highly complex stage, have enormously facilitated the popularization of knowledge.

Language is by no means perfected; we are constantly increasing our vocabulary and changing our forms, both in spelling and in grammar. We are steadily discarding variations in our declensions and conjugations and are expressing meaning more through the use of modifiers. New words are constantly appearing, some being formed by combinations of old words, in order to furnish names for new objects or to suggest a new meaning; some are borrowed from other languages for these purposes—a method exemplified in the English language, which has drawn so heavily from the Latin, Greek and Romance languages. Then again new words are constantly being coined outright; many of these are at first rejected, especially "slang" words, but after a time some of them find their way into our dictionaries and are recognized as legitimate. New situations and experiences also bring in new terms, as is illustrated by the recent war.

Thus language, while a product of socialization, has made further socialization possible. Without it modern civilization would be impossible. It is the product of mind, and at the same time acts as the mind's greatest

stimulant. It is possibly man's greatest social achievement.

Inventions.—A product of the mind of man, one which gives an excellent guide to the social evolution of man, is invention. Here we have definite means of comparing primitive with civilized man. Inventions, however, are influenced by the geographic environment, for they are the results of the efforts of man to supply his needs; they are the products of necessity. Nature serves as a stimulus in this way; if there are wild animals there is the incentive for the invention of weapons, like the bow and arrow, or traps, such as the deadfall; and if the people gain their food from the water, they turn the same mental capacity towards the inventing of nets, hooks, pounds, and boats; if agriculture is the means of livelihood, the inventive ability will be turned to the shaping of hoes, plows, and methods of irrigation; if food is scarce in winter, methods of preserving will be invented—freezing, smoking, drying and curing of meat and fish, the drying of fruits, the storing of grain, and later in civilization the canning of all kinds of food; if man lives near water he will invent boats, fashioning them out of whatever material is available, particularly tree trunks, bark or skins.

The same is true of all inventions; environment and necessity have been the mainsprings of mental activity, the former to suggest and the latter to compel. It has been suggested that man obtained the idea of many of his weapons from the animals about him, getting the pattern of the spear from those animals with horns or tusks; of the bow from the bending limb or sapling in the forest; of knives, daggers, and notched weapons from the teeth of animals; of the use of poisons from poisonous insects and reptiles; of defensive weapons, particularly shields and armor, from the tough hides of such animals as the rhinoceros and buffalo; of armor in the form of plates or scales from the alligator. These were all undoubtedly suggestive, and the fact that man was physically weaker than many of the animals around him compelled him to seek artificial aid. The club was possibly the first inven-

tion and was largely the result of the need felt by man to hit harder and at a greater distance than his fist would allow. Spears and slings were improvements on the club; the bow and arrow was another step in advance, and it in turn had to give way to the gun. Combat not only with the animals but with other men compelled man to improve his weapons. The tribe or band which had the better weapons won, and that having inferior equipment was defeated. Thus man was compelled to adopt the best weapons that he could find; individuals or groups who did not were exterminated. This was strikingly illustrated in the recent war.

Primitive inventions indicated as great mental capacity and genius as modern; indeed we often think that they were really greater achievements. The development of the use of fire was as great an achievement as the discovery of electricity and had a far greater effect upon society. The invention of the modern 42-centimeter gun, the high-power rifle, and the machine gun are no greater achievements than was the construction of the first bow and arrow, of which they are merely improvements; the principle is the same, that of throwing a missile. The contrivance of the alphabet was in one respect a greater achievement than that of the modern printing press, for the press could never have been possible without the alphabet. Glassware and china are merely the continuation of the idea which produced pottery. In short, modern inventions are in most cases merely improvements upon primitive inventions. Nearly every new device or machine produced to-day is nothing more than an improvement of some previous device or machine.

It is astonishing to discover how many of our modern tools and mechanical devices were known by primitive man, not of course in their present finished state but in a cruder and less effective form. Primitive man had the idea and the method; we have merely improved upon the product. Of instruments of cutting, primitive man had knives, shears, planes, axes, chisels, smoothers, scrapers, polishers, and saws. They were, to be sure, made of stone,

bones, shells, teeth, and pieces of stick, but great ingenuity was used in fitting of handles by means of grooves, boring of holes, riveting, gluing, and lashing. Instruments of piercing were made, such as awls, gimlets, and needles. Tongs, nippers, vises, and presses were also used, and all kinds of ingenious methods of tying knots and fastening articles together.

Perhaps much greater in the way of achievement was the employment of many of the principles of mechanics and the laws of physics, particularly those underlying the use of the lever, wedge, wheel and axle, pulley, screw, inclined plane, and roller, all of which primitive man made use of in his every-day life, using the wedge to split trees, the pulley to haul great weights, the lever to lift heavy bodies, and the inclined plane to get a heavy object upon a higher place. Scales and balances were also in common use with primitive man. The savage may never have understood the laws governing these tools, and in all probability never realized that there might have been such a thing as a law. But the use of these devices indicates that he has as good a mind as civilized man, even though not so well trained. Civilization is the result of the accumulation of knowledge; progress is simply the piling up of achievement.

In his battle with nature man has proved superior and has subjected nature to his will. Animals have been transformed by their environment but man has proved himself master of it. While he has been influenced by Nature he has never become her slave; he has compelled her to serve him. While progress at first may have been accidental, it eventually became telic, or purposeful. Man has never been willing to leave well enough alone, and has persistenty refused to be dominated or frustrated by nature; he has steadily thrown off her bonds and become her master. Matter and motion cannot be destroyed but they can be transformed into channels useful to man; this transformation is the result of new ideas. Inventions have been by no means sudden discoveries; they are slow growths or accumulations of ideas. At first invention was

extremely slow, but as man progressed it became more rapid; through the betterment of means of communication, the invention of one thing caused others to spring up. Also invention and discovery have been reciprocal, invention leading to discovery and discovery ushering in invention. We had to discover the powers of steam and electricity before we could invent the steam engine or the telegraph; these inventions led to further discoveries, which in turn made possible other inventions. Inventions have enabled man to make better use of the gifts of nature. They have also acted as milestones of progress, ushering in periods of greater accomplishment. They are human achievements, made possible by man's superior mental ability.

Evolution of Property.—At first man had no property, unless we can call unconsumed food property. Since property depends upon invention, probably the first definite form of property was the club; to this was added other weapons as they were constructed. Then articles of personal use came in, such as cooking utensils, traps, hooks, nets, and in fact all of those articles which a savage would use to aid him in the battle with nature. Clothes and articles of ornament were added later, for originally man wore no clothes. Clothes appeared first as ornaments and were not adopted for the sake of modesty or for warmth; both of these functions developed, for after man grew accustomed to wearing clothes a sense of modesty developed and he became ashamed to go without them.

The use of clothing for warmth is likewise the result of habit. Clothes were made of skins, bark, leaves, and grasses woven together. All manner of ornaments came into use, from the most primitive efforts at decoration down to the costly jewels and apparel worn during latter periods of luxury. With the appearance of pastoral life property in flocks and herds developed. Also with this period, but more especially with the development of agriculture, land began to be held as property, that is, land which was suitable for grazing and agricultural purposes, land which was well watered and fertile or which was

near some water hole. Before this, land in the shape of some favorite cave or spot desired for residential purposes was held as property, provided the person was strong enough to hold possession of it.

Early life was more or less communistic; only the strongest and quickest had a choice; and a person held his own property by reason of the strong arm, or lost it to someone else by lack of it. But as inventions created property, government (as we shall see in the next chapter) slowly developed and laid down rules for its ownership, thus acknowledging the right of private property. In fact the holding of private property was one of the great incentives towards government, demanding definite rules, executives to enforce them, and judges to decide disputes. With the development of the idea of property came in mediums of exchange. At first articles were exchanged by means of barter, where one person having some article which he wished to exchange for others was obliged to find someone having the desired article who was willing to exchange with him. This was too clumsy a method and there slowly arose the idea of exchanging for some article of universal demand which could easily be given for the ultimately desired article. For mediums of exchange were used common articles of food, such as rice, wheat, maize, fish, beans, nuts, figs, dates, salt, cocoanuts, tea, coffee; or some article of clothing, as furs, cotton, silk; or domestic animals, especially cattle; articles of ornament, as beads, wampum, feathers, or paint; slaves; even women; and finally the precious metals. Articles had to be selected which all or many wanted, which had some standard of value, and which was easily transported. Market places came into use and often were very highly developed even among primitive peoples, certain places being set aside in the forest and rules laid down to protect those going to and coming from them. Barter was at first the only method of trading at these market places, but advantage was later taken of the prevailing mediums of exchange. The development of property has steadily increased as civilization has progressed. Laws have been

made to protect property, at times to such an extent that property is better protected than human life itself. Just now, however, the tendency is away from this.

Evolution of Industry.—Property led to industrial development. To develop industry division of labor was necessary. The first division of labor was that between man and woman, man doing the hunting, fishing, trapping, herding, and fighting, while woman cared for the children and did the cooking and the work about the camp, generally including agriculture. Then gradually different men found out that they could do some one thing better than another and so did that one thing, exchanging their products for the products of others. Some learned that they were especially skilled in making bows and arrows or wampum, or knew how to make superior canoes; this was particularly true of the American Indians. Among African tribes smithing is a trade followed by some, others bringing their iron work to them. Barter and exchange made this specialization possible and with the development of exchange and trade it increased. During the feudal times handicrafts appeared, certain towns developing certain industries, the secrets of which were handed down from father to son. In countries where slavery was highly developed slave labor was organized along such lines, slaves being taught different trades; many estates were highly organized, having hundreds and thousands of slaves following scores of occupations. Later, guilds sprang up, especially in the towns of Germany. These were really closed trade unions, which kept the secrets of the different trades and limited the number of apprentices. With the rise of a special merchant class and the decline of the craft guilds, home manufacture—the so-called domestic system—appeared. Then with the invention of the steam engine, power loom, and numerous other machines, home industry was driven to the wall by the greater efficiency of machine industry, and the factory age was ushered in. This change produced endless suffering, terrible poverty, and increased the burdens of labor; but it of course increased production and in the end was

a blessing. This system is still further changing into what is often called "big business," or the concentration of capital in large industries, a process which in turn has caused much confusion by crowding small industries to the wall.

With the increase in size of industry there has come a greater division of labor. Under the handicraft system a man generally constructed an entire article, such as a pair of shoes, a chair, or a carriage. With the division of labor in the present-day factory he does only a part, passing on the uncompleted article to some one else, who adds another touch and passes it on to still another. This method has been so highly developed by the invention of modern machinery that an ordinary article, like a shoe or a hat, passes through hundreds of hands in the factory itself, to say nothing of those who handle the raw material before it reaches the factory, and those who transport and sell the finished article. This division has enabled man to become highly skilled and to produce in large quantities, and so has enabled society to have more commodities than otherwise would have been possible, but it has also brought in its own problems, as we shall see later.

Social Effects of Industrial Development.—The first great benefit of industrial development to society is of course increased production, since it furnishes a greater mass of commodities with which to satisfy human desires and allows man continually to advance. But this very accumulation of wealth has accentuated the problem of distribution, for never in the history of the world has there been anything like an equal distribution of wealth, the strong always getting the lion's share. To-day the deciding factor is not physical strength but mental shrewdness. This unequal distribution, while necessary and often just, has led to endless disputes, class conflicts, and antagonism. In the handicraft stage the worker was also the proprietor and had what he produced, but under the present industrial system the laborer works for wages, which are set by the supply and demand for labor and are not governed, except as to the upper limit, by the pro-

ductivity of the labor. In this way labor has often been exploited, notoriously so at the beginning of the industrial revolution in England in the early years of the nineteenth century, when the employer paid as small wages as possible. This caused organizations of labor to resist exploitation, bringing on conflicts between capital and labor in the way of strikes and lockouts, which often resulted in extreme violence on both sides. The present tendency is towards the arbitration of labor disputes, such a method having been already adopted in some countries, particularly New Zealand. Both capital and labor oppose this movement, however, preferring to settle such disputes without outside interference.

The development of industry has not only allowed each worker to produce more, but has enabled him to do so in a shorter time. Modern factory hours are far shorter than hours of labor under the handicraft stage, and the modern workman has far less anxiety in regard to obtaining food, clothing, and shelter for himself and family than had primitive man, who was obliged to rely wholly upon his own efforts. But the building up of factory towns has brought with it neglect of the comforts of the workers, often producing poor dwellings, lack of sanitation, bad surroundings, and unpleasant home life. Factory conditions have not always been sanitary and hygienic; as a rule they have been just the opposite. This situation has compelled society to take a hand in the matter and, either through public opinion or legislative enactment, force factory owners to look after the welfare of their workers. Industrial development has built up a complicated system of co-operation, yet in this machine too often the laborer has become a mere cog, his individuality being repressed and his very welfare ignored. The present machine process, where each worker merely adds one touch to an article, passes it on, takes up another, and performs the same operation, is monotonous, and contributes little to the worker's physical and mental development. He becomes a mere piece of the whole mechanism.

The invention of machines has made man's labor less

burdensome physically, but has at the same time ushered in child and woman labor, because a child or woman can often tend a machine as easily as a man. This competition has kept down the wages of men. Industrial development has given the opportunity of providing man greater time for leisure, rest, recreation, and education, but the laborer has not always been allowed to receive the benefit of this, the chance too frequently being monopolized by the employer and used in building up a fortune, only to be wasted by his family in luxurious living. This condition is steadily growing less serious, for the worker is demanding shorter hours and larger pay and is steadily gaining these demands—so much so that some are becoming alarmed because of it. But at the beginning of the industrial revolution and along through the first few decades of the past century wages were too often starvation wages. Twelve to sixteen hours constituted the working day. Conditions were terrible, in fact hardly believable, children being treated worse than slaves, especially in the English factories; at the same time the factory owners were amassing immense fortunes and reveling in luxury.

Such conditions could not be permanent if civilization was to advance, and fortunately are now a thing of the past in most countries. Industrial development has made man's existence more certain by insuring him the means of livelihood; yet industrial development has made the laborer dependent upon the factory and has put the possibility of work in the hands of others. When a board of directors decides that a factory is not paying dividends it closes down the plant until the conditions of the market change; meanwhile the workers are deprived of a chance to earn a living. In other words, dividends are of greater importance than the subsistence of the workers. This same development has made man's life less dangerous than formerly, yet it has put his safety into the hands of others. We are commencing to solve these problems by providing sickness, accident, and unemployment insurance. Thus while industrial evolution has increased happiness and prosperity it has brought in its special prob-

lems. As we solve these problems other new ones arise in turn to be dealt with.

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CHAPTER XIV

THE STATE

By state we mean the political organization of individuals in a more or less definitely bounded territory for the purpose of protection, preservation or betterment of the group. Government is the organ through which the state expresses itself, or the form which the state takes in exerting its control. The term, state, is much broader than that of government, for it includes all the individuals in a given territory, while government refers only to the individuals in the actual organization. The state embodies not only a territory and a population, but also unity and organization. It connotes a political scheme with its laws, officials, and machinery of governing; it also implies some kind of co-operation among its members. In this study we shall not make an attempt to cover the subject of political science or government, but shall treat the state merely as a social institution, dealing with its origin and development. In another chapter we shall take up law as a means of social control.

Origin of the State.—*Different Theories.*—Because the state existed long before we have any recorded history, its exact origin, or origins, are not definitely known, but are largely a matter of conjecture or of theory. The facts of history and the conditions found to-day among primitive peoples, however, point back to some forms and characteristics of the primitive state, and from these certain more or less definite conclusions have been drawn. Some of the theories which have held sway are the following:

1. *Theory of Divine Right.*—According to the theory of divine right, the Supreme Being selected certain individuals and ordained that they should rule and govern the rest. This theory was widely exploited in Europe,

especially by weak monarchs, such as the Stuarts and Bourbons, to create respect for themselves and thus to enable themselves to retain power for which they were otherwise unfitted. It was still more recently set forth by the Hohenzollerns to justify their selfish aims. This theory has at times performed valuable social service by creating respect for government, thus enabling civilization to progress. It is needless to say that this theory, popularly known as "divine right of kings," is no longer regarded seriously, although formerly many volumes were written in its defense.

2. *Social Contract.*—The theory of social contract, which was advocated by such men as Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau, has more validity than that of divine right. According to it, the state is the result of the voluntary agreement of the individual members of the state, who come together and form a contract for some definite organization. This agreement came about, it was argued, from the feeling of the need of some method of organization and control. The union of the Swiss cantons and of the American colonies into republics is often given as proof of this theory. While the formation of these and other states in history lends weight to the theory, we cannot accept it for the simple reason that the state came into existence before the savage had reached that stage of civilization when he was able to appreciate the need of any such organization; in other words, the state came into being before such an origin could have been possible. With modern states, or with those formed after the people had reached a comparatively high stage of culture, this idea of contract has played some part, but even so it is only one of the various factors which determine the origin of the state. So while we are obliged to give this theory some weight, we shall have to reject it as the theory completely accounting for the origin of the state.

3. *Origin Through Struggle.*—According to another idea, the state is the direct result of race struggle, the weaker bands being conquered by the stronger and a state being formed out of their union. Professor Ward was perhaps

the best advocate of this theory, according to which the state developed by the following steps or stages:

(*a*) *Subjugation of One Race by Another.*—Some wandering bands, going along a river or seashore or through a valley, met another band going in the opposite direction. After futile attempts to communicate with one another each looked upon the other as an enemy and immediately tried to exterminate it. The fight would continue until one band or the other was either exterminated or driven from the field. After the encounter the victors might even eat the bodies of the fallen foes and in this way originate cannibalism. But soon they would find that it was more advantageous to enslave their captives than eat them. At first the women were enslaved and made to serve as wives or concubines; then later the men were put into bondage. Slavery continued until the conquerors found it more profitable or advantageous to allow the conquered ones their own liberty, granting them the right to live in their own homes and to govern their own lives, but regarding them as inferiors subject to the conquerors. This gave rise to the second stage.

(*b*) *Origin of Caste.*—After slavery was found to be too cumbersome, the levying of tribute took its place. With this as an incentive bands of warriors who excelled because of superior weapons or organization would be formed to go out on plundering expeditions. Sometimes they conquered a region which they preferred to their own territory and forthwith decided to settle down upon the people they had conquered, exacting tribute from them. At first each people despised the other, and the conquerors by virtue of their superiority would reduce the defeated peoples to a position of inequality, not allowing them any rights. Thus a caste system came to be formed, such as we have in some countries at the present time; India is a good example of this condition. Generally also there developed a middle group, usually a trading class, as an intermediary between these two castes. In addition there gradually arose a third condition, as a result of closer associations.

(c) *A Gradual Mitigation of the Condition of Caste.*—After living near one another for a long time each group finally became reconciled to the other; the conquerors would see some good in the people they had despised and the conquered would scorn to a lesser degree those who had defeated them. Being continually obliged to associate with each other, their race hatred would diminish. Then, too, they would intermarry, the conquerors taking as wives the most beautiful of the women of the conquered, who might not indeed always be averse to it. The rulers thus came to regard their serfs as human beings like themselves and there would gradually result a mitigation of the selfish and arbitrary rule of the stronger party. While a state of marked individual, social, and political inequality doubtless persisted, there would be a great improvement, which easily led to a further stage.

(d) *Substitution of a Form of Law, With the Origin of Legal Right, for the Purely Military Rule of the Conquerors.*—Before the creation of a sense of legal right, punishment of crime was entirely at the pleasure of the conquerors, whose rule was absolute. With the recognition of the fact that the lower caste was composed of human beings who acted and felt like themselves, they came to recognize that these same people had rights—a point of view strengthened by intermarriage. This caused the laying down of sets or codes of law, first spoken rules, and later written laws, which governed the action of the lower caste and regulated their treatment at the hands of the upper caste. The same thing was true in regard to property rights, at first all property being regarded as belonging to the conquerors, but later being allowed to the lower caste as well.

(e) *The Origin of the State.*—When organization reached the stage known as the state, all classes had both rights and duties. The development of law required some system to enforce it; thus there developed a form of government, its forms depending upon the people and the environmental conditions. This usually took a monarchical form; the rule being delegated to chiefs, either selected

or self-appointed, who passed their power on to their descendants. With the growth of population others were brought into the government, and in this way the various forms of government evolved.

(*f*) *The Cementing Together of All This Mass of Heterogeneous Elements into a More or Less Homogeneous People.*—With the mitigation of class hatred, the relaxation of the arbitrary rule of the upper caste, and the development of a spirit of mutual dependence there would develop a mingling of all classes. The upper classes depended upon the lower for soldiers to fill the army; merchants looked to them for customers, and industry drew upon them for laborers. The lower classes relied upon the upper for laws, protection, and leadership. Thus a survival of the best elements in all divisions of society came about. The customs, habits, religions and institutions which were superior or best adapted to conditions were adopted. In this way a welding together of all elements took place, and the resulting institutions would be superior to those possessed by either band before the conquest.

(*g*) *Rise and Development of a Sentiment of Patriotism and the Formation of a Nation.*—When some great danger, such as invasion by a foreign foe, arose, there developed a feeling of patriotism, a sentiment of attachment to the land and a recognition of common interests, and all would unite to ward off the danger; but what is still more important, the different factions would be welded into a nation.

While the struggle theory might admit of peaceful assimilation, the formation of the state, like the formation of most institutions, would be primarily the product of struggle or of competition, and through this method we must advance. There is no question that many states were evolved in this manner, but the struggle theory is too narrow to explain the formation of all states. Many states were the outcome of other processes, although probably no state came into existence without some competition and struggle. Undoubtedly it was the strongest element

in the formation of the state. In modern times it has softened down, and many of the earlier stages have been omitted. As a single explanation it is the most plausible of any yet suggested, but it does not supply a complete explanation.

4. *Origin of the State Through the Family.*—Another theory often advanced (with a great deal of historical evidence in its favor) is that the state is the direct outgrowth of the family, especially of the patriarchal family, where the father was the head of the household as long as he lived. Not only was he head of the family, he was priest, lawgiver and judge as well. He was head not only of his own family but of the entire band of relatives, and as this group enlarged the patriarch remained the ruler, passing his authority on to his eldest son and in this way developing a line of rulers. As problems needing attention increased, he divided the work or appointed others to help him discharge his many duties, delegating certain work to each one.[1] Morgan,[2] in accord with this theory, traces the development of the state from the family through the gens, a collection of related families; the phratry, a collection of allied or related gentes; the tribe, a number of allied phratries; and the nation or state, an organization of tribes. He bases his theory upon evidence found among the Iroquois and Aztec Indians and the early Greeks and Romans. The first early organizations were undoubtedly outgrowths of the family, and in many places the state can be directly traced from the family. But when we conclude that the state as an institution is merely the outgrowth of the family, we meet with the same defect that we find in the other theories already advanced—it is too narrow a foundation; influences existing outside the family were also at work. It was one of the sources of origin, in fact one of the chief sources, but it was by means the only one.

5. *The Evolutionary Origin.*—The generally accepted

[1] Illustrated by Exodus XVIII; 13–26.
[2] Morgan, *Ancient Society*, Part II, 1877 (Holt).

theory of the origin of the state among students of political science to-day is the historical or evolutionary theory. The theory of evolutionary origin is based upon the premise that we cannot trace the origin of the state back to any single source; that the state was not an invention but a growth, an evolution; that its growth was a gradual process; that it is the product of many forces and developed in different countries in different ways, depending upon the forces brought to bear upon it. Not only race struggle, kinship, and the need for protection affected it, but also religion, climate, geographical location, and industrial development. In short, the state is a product of society, improving with the progress of society. The growth of the state has been swifter in some places than in others, because, conditions being more favorable, man developed more rapidly in those sections. For this reason we find the state better developed in Europe and America than in Asia and Africa. The same conditions are not equally favorable to all phases of development; for instance, those favorable to the state might not be conducive to religion, and those advantageous to industry might not be stimulative to art. But the state was affected the same as other institutions were affected, that is, it grew rapidly where conditions were favorable and slowly where conditions were unfavorable. In order to get a clear understanding of the development of the state we must consider some of the forces which have influenced its development.

Factors Entering Into the Development of the State.— A study of the development of the state would not be complete without some consideration of the factors entering into its formation, but we can discuss only a few; a study of all the factors would involve a consideration of all the influences affecting society in general. We have already considered kinship, and found it to be so important that many writers have regarded the family as the origin of the state. In the chapter on geographical influences we considered the effect of location upon the development of society, and saw that the geographical conditions

determine to a large extent the nature of the government and the size, importance, and character of the state; that if located in the track of civilization, its progress will be rapid, but if more or less isolated, the state may remain dwarfed and primitive. Natural boundaries may make a strong government unnecessary, while unprotected frontiers may compel such a development. The natural situation also helps to determine the form of the government. The neighbors of a state influences its development; if they are warlike, they will strengthen the authority of the government and will tend to cause centralization of power in the hands of a few and the organization of a military or naval defense. The character of the neighbors determines whether a country will be conquered or whether its people will themselves turn conquerors. Richness of natural resources will invite conquest, and scarcity of neighbors will protect from invasion. Isolation will induce stagnation in that it offers no incentive to progress. In short, geographical location and environment are extremely important and must not be neglected in an attempt to trace the evolution of the state. It is the disregard of this factor that lays such theories as the contract and force theories open to criticism and refutation.

Wealth and industry are important factors in the development of the state. As soon as personal property rights were recognized there arose the need of some means of protecting property, of some rules in regard to its ownership, and of some authority to carry out these rules. These were some of the motives prompting man to organize government, some of the needs which had to be filled. When property was developed still further and the various forms of industry arose, the need for protection increased and additional steps were taken to insure it. This fact caused those having wealth to take greater interest in government and to attempt to get control. Where industry has had the greatest development, we find the strongest influence exercised by the wealthy classes, especially if the control of industry is centered in the hands of a few. If, on the other hand, wealth is evenly distributed, the gov-

ernment is democratic. The nature of the prevailing industry must also be considered. Pastoral life tended towards a patriarchal system and brought with it slavery and absolute obedience to the ruler. Agricultural life caused disputes over boundaries and water holes, and occasioned the need of rules in regard to them. Hunting and fishing called for rules governing the division of game. The accumulation of property is largely the basis of social classification, producing such distinctions as master and slave, lord and serf, employer and employee, capitalist and wage earner. In this way governing classes have originated, which are based to a large extent upon the ownership of property.

Religion is a factor which is both neglected and overemphasized. Religion has promoted social discipline, for it has been a force holding the group together, restraining the wayward and radical. It has been of aid in teaching respect for those in power, for at first the religious and the political leaders were the same, and later were in close alliance. In this way religion has helped to bring about much greater progress in political organization than would have been possible without it. At first religion was a tribal affair and not a matter of individual concern, and the chief was supposed to have divine sanction, thus adding to his power. Later states incorporated religion into the government, as was done particularly by the Hebrews, and in varying degrees by the Romans, Spanish, French, English, Chinese, and Russians. On the other hand, religion has called upon the state to carry out its commands and to enlarge its influence. The Roman Catholic and Mohammedan faiths particularly, and even the Church of England and the Puritans are examples. Religion has compelled the state to make the laws in its favor, especially laws against sacrilege, non-observance of the Sabbath, and the breaking of religious customs. In recent years we have drifted away from this idea of the joining of church and state; we have come to the conclusion that the two ought to be separated; but at one time in many, if not in the majority, of races the idea was

held that they either were synonymous or went hand in hand.

The contribution of the individual must not be wholly overlooked, although modern history is giving less and less importance to the deeds of military heroes and great kings than formerly. Conquests have often been the result of individual ambition backed up by military power; examples are found in Babylon, Assyria, and Persia; in the Greeks under Alexander; the majority of the Roman conquests; those of many of the rulers of Europe during the Middle Ages; and in recent times in the campaigns of Napoleon and the bid for world power made by Germany in 1914. Conquests have been made in order to extend boundaries, smaller and less powerful states being absorbed, sometimes by more or less peaceful means, as in the formation of the late German Empire, but more often by warlike means. The conquests of Poland, Hungary, Finland, and India, are examples of this method.

Sometimes states break up after the death of the founder, crumbling like the empire of Alexander. Again when the central power becomes weak, the state either breaks up or loses its outlying provinces; in this way the Roman Empire broke up, and Spain lost all her possessions. Often upon the death of a king his children divide up the empire, as the kingdom of Charlemagne was dismembered. Then again if the different elements are not welded together and thoroughly assimilated, they often break apart; sometimes after struggle, as when the Balkan provinces and Greece broke away from Turkey; and sometimes peaceably, as in the separation of Norway and Sweden in 1905. Now and then colonies are formed to be of help to the mother country, and very frequently they become alienated in interest and spirit and finally detach themselves, perhaps because of injustice and misrule, or simply because of the growth of different interests. The Greek colonies, the Spanish possessions in America, and the American colonies are such examples.

But as a rule, the tendency has been to unite, for the stronger to absorb the weaker. This process has been

going on for thousands of years and is still going on, occasionally through peaceable union, but more frequently through force, the stronger unit subjugating the weaker or compelling it to come into the union. In fact, the modern state is often made up of very heterogeneous elements, being the result of conquests, trades, and treaties. The map of Europe before the Great War furnished a proof of this, perhaps the most striking illustration being that of Austria-Hungary. So great was this absorption of the weak by the strong, that the peace conference found it practically impossible to restore to smaller nationalities their former liberties.

Functions of the State.—Nearly every writer on politics defines in some manner or other the functions of the state. These definitions all differ in detail, although most of them now agree in the fundamental principles. As time goes on and the state develops, it assumes functions which formerly were delegated to other institutions. It has taken over many functions from religion, such as the care of dependants; from the family, particularly education of the children; and from the individual, as the punishment of crime. The state is constantly adding to its duties and enlarging its powers. The following, however, may be given as the principal functions of the state as we conceive them to-day:

1. *The Preservation and Maintenance of National Integrity.*—Before a state can do much of anything it must be certain of its own existence. It must protect itself from foreign enemies and from the encroachments of other states; it must also insure itself against insurrections of its own citizens. To do this it is obliged to maintain armies, navies, and police systems with all their appurtenances, as forts, spies, and detectives.

2. *The Protection of Life and Property of Its Citizens, Including the Right to Transfer and Inherit Property.*—This was one of the first functions (and is yet a primary one) of the state—the protection of its citizens from violence both from foreign enemies and from other members of the same state. Lawless elements must always be

held in restraint. The power to do this is the first test of a state, for if life and property are not safe the country cannot progress. If a state cannot protect life and property it is weak and soon falls a victim to a stronger state.

3. *The Making and Enforcing of Laws, Including the Defining of Crime and Its Punishment.*—This function really includes many others, but because it is one of the first to be assumed, the others coming in as later developments, it is mentioned separately. This function was exercised by ancient rulers, the earliest chiefs, who ruled by virtue of the strong arm; it was performed also by the patriarchs. It has never been relinquished; on the contrary it has been greatly extended. The punishment of crime was originally, however, largely a family or individual duty; it has now become entirely a state function. At first laws were merely arbitrary rules laid down at the pleasure of the rulers, although even then the protection of the group and to some extent of the individuals in the group was considered; but the tendency has been to put greater and greater stress upon what is for the best interests of society. In order to protect itself and its members the state is obliged to define crime and to affix penalties for the breaking of laws. The performance of these functions requires legislative machinery.

4. *The Administration of Justice, not Only Between the State and Its Citizens, but Among the Citizens Themselves.*—For this judges and courts have been instituted to consider grievances and to see that justice is given.

5. *The Defining of Relationships, Duties, Obligations, and Privileges Within the State.*—This includes the defining of the relationships among members of families, the rights of individuals, and those of institutions within the state.

6. *The Regulation of Contracts, Including Debts, Obligations, Etc.*—In order to allow the greatest freedom of action and to accomplish the administration of justice, the state is obliged to see that contracts are enforceable. This care is necessary to insure the stability of business and

the development of industry, as well as for the protection of the individual.

These are the leading functions of the state as generally agreed upon, but there are coming into existence others which formerly were not considered as belonging to the state, but were left entirely to other institutions. Even now there is not always uniformity of opinion in regard to their appertaining to the state, rather than to private control. We shall treat them simply as duties imposed upon the modern state.

7. *The Regulation of Industry, Trade, and Labor Conditions.*—The regulation of industry is now being attempted by the state, taking such forms as the curbing of trusts, the safeguarding of competition, the requirement of honesty in business relations, and the control over labor disputes, enough at least to insure the protection of the public against strikes and lockouts. Compulsory arbitration, minimum wage laws, the eight-hour day, and various governmental commissions, are examples. This function is steadily growing and new phases are constantly being added, such as social insurance against unemployment, sickness, and accident. Formerly these were all considered private matters, but they are now being more and more considered as legitimate functions of the state.

8. *The Protection of Public Health.*—Requirements for sanitation, protection against contagious diseases, inspection of factories, requirement of safety devices for dangerous machinery, building codes, milk inspection, street cleaning, anti-spitting laws, sewage and garbage disposal, and laws forbidding the adulteration of foods, are good illustrations of the public health function of the state. This is a function which is being constantly extended.

9. *Education.*—Until very recently education was a private matter; in fact, when the early socialists first began to advocate public education, it was considered a radical if not dangerous theory. Now we accept it without any dispute, except in regard to its extension. At first it meant only elementary education; then it was extended to sec-

ondary instruction; then finally to college and university education, but now to industrial and professional training. Private education has not, however, been driven from the field; in higher branches it is holding its own, and constitutes a valuable addition to public education. It is coming to be recognized as the duty of the state to educate its citizens in any legitimate calling or profession as far as they care to go. In the immediate future we can look for a still greater extension of this function of the state, especially along the lines of industrial and technical training.

10. *Care of the Dependent and Defective Classes.*—The burden of the care of the unfortunate has been lifted from the shoulders of the individual and the church, although neither is discouraged from aiding in the work. Care is now given to the sick who are not able to care for themselves, and is supplemented by protection against sickness in the form of health insurance. It is being recognized more and more that it is the duty of the state to care for the aged or at least to see that they do not fall into want; not only to see that they do not actually suffer, but also that they have a measure of comfort, especially if they have lived hard-working, industrious lives. It is also coming to be recognized as a function of the state to prevent poverty as far as possible by the regulation of industry and by insurance against low wages and bad industrial conditions. In this field emphasis is being shifted from mere relief to prevention. The aim is not only to care for the dependent and defective classes, but to prevent the formation of such classes in the future.

11. *Regulation and Prohibition of Industries and Activities Considered as Injurious to the Public.*—The regulation or prohibition of the liquor business, control of the sale of drugs, censorship of theaters, forbidding the use of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches, licensing of pool halls, and the suppression of gambling, in short the curbing or preventing of anything considered detrimental to the public welfare—all these are now considered to lie within the functions of the state.

12. *The Right to Carry on Industry.*—Formerly state monopolies were allowed for revenue purposes, but now it is coming to be recognized that as soon as the state can carry on a business or industry better than an individual, it is the right and duty of the state to take up this work. In this respect the world is becoming more socialistic. This theory did not meet with much favor in the United States until our entry into the Great War. Since the war there has been a reaction against this policy, but the arguments for and against such a course center upon whether the government is able to carry on the business in a manner more satisfactory to the public than private individuals, rather than upon whether the government has the right.

Evolution of the Forms of Government.—In the early days of human society there was very little government, for during the periods of the horde and matriarchy the condition of anarchy generally prevailed. Then when government did emerge, it took ordinarily the form of the rule of one or a few, and that the rule of the strong arm. Later government took a monarchical or oligarchical form. Law was generally the arbitrary will of these rulers. But as civilization advanced, the demand arose for a diffusion of the governmental authority, and constitutional rights and privileges were gradually extended; then constitutions, like the English constitution, slowly grew. With such development constitutional monarchies, democracies, and republics emerged. We of course can assign no dates for any of these stages, for we find democracies existing early in the history of the world; in fact, some very primitive tribes have democratic forms of government. Many of these so-called early democracies, particularly the early Greek states, were not democracies as we consider a democracy to-day, for the right to enjoy political privileges was limited to a few. The present-day republic is simply the modern method of carrying out this demand of the people for a share in the government; yet many constitutional monarchies give as many, and in fact often more, popular rights than some republics.

After the permanency of the republican form of govern-

ment in the United States had been assured, it was imitated in the formation of republics, especially in South and Central America. The most of these were established without the necessary preliminary education of the masses and their training for such responsibilities. The result has been that most of these republics have remained republics only in name. They have frequently degenerated into oligarchies, monarchies and even despotisms. Individuals who were strong seized the government and used it for their own ends till deposed or overthrown by others who were stronger or had popular approval for the time being. Some, like Diaz of Mexico, held the government for a long time, while others lasted but a few weeks or even days. The reason for all this was that the form of government was either too advanced for the people or unsuited for their needs. The latest illustration of this has been the ill-fated Republic of China. Since the World War there has been a drift towards the parliamentary form of government of England and most of the recently established states have copied it to a greater or less extent.

Before the World War imperialistic developments were far-reaching. The great nations of the world, particularly Europe, were endeavoring to obtain possession of all parts of the world, which were undeveloped and were unable to offer strong resistance. In this way practically all of Africa was divided up; the islands of the sea seized; and much of Asia appropriated. The World War put a check to this, especially in Asia. Since the World War there has been a revival of the nationalistic movement, or the formation of small states and races into nations or attempts to do so. This was encouraged by the Treaty of Versailles and has especially affected what were formerly parts of Russia, Austria-Hungary and Turkey. How far this movement will go only time can tell.

In the United States many political problems have arisen. One of these now is how far are we going to continue the centralization of power in our Federal Government, by the multiplication of bureaus, boards and commissions. These have come in as the result of de-

mands, needs, interests and wants of the people. But the question is in regard to how far we will care to go in this direction. Many now protest against this drift but at present the concentration of power seems to continue and increase rather than decrease.

We cannot here go into a discussion of government, the forms it has taken, and an analysis of each; that study belongs to political science. Our treatment deals only with its development as a social institution and with its social functions and does not include the study of the machinery of government, interesting as such a study is. The whole tendency has been towards the granting to the individuals in the state a greater share in the government as well as more equal rights and privileges. A still more modern tendency is towards the centralization of power in this government and the extension of the duties and functions of the state. In short, the world is becoming not only more democratic but also more socialistic. Such a development was impossible till the mass of humanity reached a state of civilization where it could properly exercise political duties and privileges. The state has thus developed as fast as society allowed it to develop; it has been the product of society, evolving as rapidly as society itself demanded.

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CHAPTER XV

RELIGION AND ETHICS

Because of the sacredness attached to religion it is always a difficult subject to treat in a scientific manner. As soon as one attempts such a study, he is certain to be branded as an atheist, agnostic, materialist, or heretic, no matter how lofty and conscientious may be his motive or how elevating the result of the study. It sometimes seems that religion is one thing which the average person has settled so far as he is concerned; it seems that he cannot tolerate having anyone else advocate a different theory or offer any other explanation or interpretation. Nearly everybody has his own interpretation of the Bible (which, however, in most cases was given him by somebody else) and he brands as wrong every other interpretation. The same attitude is held in regard to other religions; each person thinks he has a monopoly of the truth.

While we are slowly relinquishing this idea, it still prevails. There is also a great deal of difference of opinion in regard to the effects of religion upon society. Some people give it credit for all social progress, while others are equally confident that religion has been a hindrance to progress. The advocate of each of these theories has no difficulty in furnishing abundance of evidence in support of his belief, one pointing to reforms in government, education, the family, and social life, and others pointing to the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition, the torture of the Christians in the Roman arena, Druid worship in Britain, and the human sacrifices demanded in worship by the Aztecs, asserting furthermore, with a great deal of truth, that some of the greatest horrors in the history of man have been committed in the name of religion. The truth of the matter is that both are right; the effect of

religious activity depends upon the time, place, and character of the religion under discussion.

Religion cannot be overlooked as one of the most important forces in the development of civilization. Sociology makes no attempt to discuss theism or theological doctrines; it considers the religious tendency of man as one of the great fundamental interests affecting his life; it studies the development of religion as an institution, and observes its effect upon human progress. The chief interest of sociology in religion is as a social institution and as an element of social control.

Evolution of Religion.—There is a great deal of difference of opinion even as to what should be included under the name of religion, and as a result we have an endless number of definitions; in fact almost every writer on religion has a different definition and conception of the subject. For the purpose of the sociologist Menzies[1] gives perhaps the best definition, calling it the "worship of higher powers from a sense of need," which implies the belief in some power or powers more potent than the individual. It includes a feeling of dependence and need, a feeling which finds expression in acts of worship. While religious sentiment takes many forms, it is found among all races and is admitted to be a universal response of human beings to their environment.

Religion and civilization have advanced together, and in this respect religion resembles other social institutions. We must not expect to find a high religion among people living in savagery or barbarism, for they could not appreciate a lofty conception of religion. Neither must we expect a religion belonging to a low period of civilization to continue after the people emerge from that condition, for they will not be satisfied with it and will demand a loftier conception. So religion, like other institutions, tends to reflect the stage of progress achieved by a people. However, the forces that influence the religion of a people may not be the same forces which determine their form

[1] Menzies, Allan, *History of Religion*, p. 13, Scribners.

of government or their industrial development; hence we may find a conception of religion either in advance of or behind the state of progress of other institutions. Geographical environment, like that of Palestine and its surrounding countries, might tend to stimulate religious ideas and yet hinder economic development. So we must not expect to find the same rate of development among all races. But we shall find that there has been a steady, if not regular, progress, the higher religion supplanting the lower. Besides, the different religions themselves are constantly undergoing change, and while some religions degenerate, there is on the whole a constant tendency upward, religious conceptions steadily growing purer and loftier. In our treatment of the evolution of religion we must include all religions, whether degrading or elevating; we shall attempt also to trace the constant progress that has been made.

It is extremely difficult to describe primitive religion, for the religion of the savage is seemingly a bewildering confusion of all manner of beliefs and practices. It has been influenced by a vast number of forces, and has all kinds of extraordinary growths; so it is very hard to reduce the evolution of religion to any definite order, and in any such series many exceptions must be allowed and few dates or periods of time assigned. But in general the following seems to have been the approximate scheme of development:[2]

1. *Nature Worship.*—Sometimes in discussions of primitive religion animal worship is separated from the worship of other objects of nature, such as rocks, mountains, the sun, the moon, stars, trees, waterfalls, etc.; but in this study all will be treated together, because the conceptions of worship were much the same, and the effects were quite similar. Primitive man lived in a world which he did not

[2] It must be clearly understood that it is not meant that every form of religion, or any particular religion for that matter, has passed through the following order; but what is meant is, that this is an attempt to arrange religions in the order of advancement and that development in general followed such lines.

understand; he was surrounded by all manner of dangers, many of which he could not see or comprehend; so it is no wonder that he feared nature. Since he could not explain many of the objects of nature about him, it was only natural that he should look upon them as being animated like himself; and when he did so and conceived them as being more powerful than he, it was only natural that he should attempt to obtain their good will and to get them to aid him, or at least not to injure him.

Primitive man thus began to worship the objects of nature that impressed him most or that he feared most. If he lived in a country where sunshine was welcome, it followed that he would worship the sun. The sun is probably the most common object of worship among nature worshipers. If he lived near a volcano or great waterfall, primitive man would be impressed by it and worship it. The same would be true of any high mountain, large river, huge tree, great rock, or any animals which were feared, such as the tigor, lion, alligator, poisonous snake like the cobra, or any animal upon which man depended for food or raiment, such as the cow, bear, or buffalo. If the rain brought prosperity, it might be worshiped. On the contrary the thunder, lightning, or tornado might be worshiped through fear. The sea and fire have been common objects of worship. At a later time animals and other objects of nature were worshiped, because they were considered as homes of spirits, especially the spirits of ancestors. This was not, however, the original type of nature worship but a later development of it.

2. *Spirit and Ancestor Worship; Spencer's "Ghost Theory."*—Primitive man could not realize the full meaning of death, and could not think of the person who died as leaving this world entirely. He thought that the spirit must be simply leaving the body or going upon a journey, and that it was therefore apt to return. Dreams might have increased this belief in spirits; in fact, Spencer declared that belief in spirits came from dreams. This conception of death, supplemented by dreams, led primi-

tive man to believe that the spirit was able to leave the body and to dwell at a distance from it, or upon death to come back and perhaps enter into some object of nature, as a tree or animal, or return to its old habitation. His shadow, his reflection in water, and the echo of his voice went still further to prove to the savage the truth of such a belief in spirits. Sometimes the savage would look upon this spirit as a friend and sometimes as an enemy, depending largely upon whether the person was liked or feared in life. Efforts were made to appease the ill will or gain the good will of a spirit by means of prayers, offerings, praise, and even flattery. Also attempts were made to ward off its bad effects or to protect oneself against it by means of signs and charms, and even by such methods as striking a spear in the ground when lying down to sleep.

While many of these customs and actions seem strange to us, the theory is logical enough. The belief in spirits seems to have been almost universal, at least the belief that the spirit lived after the body was gone; and this notion furnished the basis for higher conceptions of religion. Of course this belief in the immortality of the spirit did not always take the form of ancestor worship, although in many places it did. Such customs as burying weapons, food, clothing, and articles of everyday use with the body, and the killing of slaves or wives, in order that they might serve the departed in the next world, are merely customs derived from the belief in a future life.

Herbert Spencer, imagining that religion originated from this belief, worked out his famous "ghost theory" of the origin of religion. He suggested that a savage, because of overeating, or from some such cause, might have a dream, perhaps of going on some hunting expedition, and yet be told next morning by his wife or by someone else that he had not stirred from his hut, but had tossed about all night; that he might see his reflection in the pool of water; that he might go into some canyon and shout and hear his voice come echoing back from its walls; and that in this way he would come to the natural con-

clusion that he had a double, which could leave him at will, especially when he slept. Sleep-walking, delirium and swooning would only go still further to confirm in the mind of the savage such a belief.

From this belief in a double personality came ancestor worship—based on a feeling that the spirits of ancestors hovered about—and the idea of transmigration of souls—that the spirit of the dead person entered some animal or object of worship. An animal with a scar which had a resemblance to a scar carried by a man before his death was of course recognized as the possessor of the soul of the dead man. Animal and nature worship originated in this way, according to Spencer, as a development of ancestor worship. In fact, Spencer attempted to show that all religions originated in this fashion. The theory was of course built upon too narrow a foundation, for while possibly some religions began in this manner, it is preposterous to assert that all religions were thus evolved. Ancestor worship still survives in many countries, most noticeably in China, simply because the people have not emerged as yet from this stage. In some countries it preceded nature worship, at least in certain forms, but as a rule ancestor worship came later, being an outgrowth of nature worship. It in turn gave way to higher forms, although many of the nobler phases of spirit worship survived and were carried over into some of the higher religions. Like nature worship, spirit and ancestor worship was accompanied by many strange customs, and was much interwoven with superstition and magic.

3. *Fetish Worship.*—In fetish worship an object is idolized, not because the object itself is thought to be a divinity, but because it is supposed to be the residence of a spirit or god. In this way any striking object of nature or any unusual object might be worshiped; it might be carried around as a kind of talisman. This type of religion might be called a combination of the preceding two; it is an outgrowth of them. Many of the so-called idols have been merely fetishes.

4. *Worship of a Supreme Being.*—While usually a late

development, the worship of a supreme, all-powerful being was sometimes found among primitive men. This at first took the form of polytheism, or the worship of several gods, but it gradually changed to monotheism through the culling out of the minor or less important gods. Sometimes this supreme being was merely a mountain, a tree, or the sun, but it stood out as supreme over other deities. Gradually this belief became loftier and purer, the worship of the lesser divinities being abandoned. This gave the foundation for the highest form of religion which we have to-day.

Each of these beliefs lays claim to being the original form of religion, and with the exception of fetishism, which was clearly the outgrowth of other forms, each undoubtedly was in some places the original. But on the whole we must regard nature worship as the lowest form, as it is the form generally found among the most primitive people. So we treat it as the starting point in our development of religion, although we must make some allowance for a belief in life after death.

Characteristics of Primitive Religion.—*Sacrifices.*—When a savage looked upon a god as a person, he naturally thought that the god needed food and other necessities of life; so he offered them to him. Sometimes these sacrifices involved complete destruction of the sacrificial objects. Among some tribes a family might become impoverished by the destruction of property used in such sacrifices. At other times the objects were not destroyed but used again by the people. Food used as an offering seldom was wasted. In countries where cannibalism was, or had been practised, these sacrifices might be human beings, generally slaves or children. Hindu mothers even to-day frequently throw their babies into the Ganges as offerings. The early Greeks before starting upon a great expedition would sacrifice a beautiful girl, and the Spartans allowed their children to be flogged to death before the temple of Diana. The sacrifice of animals succeeded human sacrifice, and has always been the most general type of offering. In this way, especially among the Jews,

sacrifices took the nature of a sign of atonement for sins, or as a means of warding off punishment.

Prayer.—Prayer is the normal method of appealing to a god and is a natural feature of religion, particularly of fetish worship. Prayer is the logical attendant of sacrifices; in fact, it is the method of telling what is the object of the sacrifice; it states the request that is made of the god. While to some extent present in most religions, its importance increases with the rise of the religion.

Sacredness.—Because of the religious association, objects connected with worship attain a character of sacredness, especially the fetishes, temples and places of worship. Any object or ceremony or service connected with religion becomes invested with sacredness. This still continues, and at times has become more pronounced with the progress of religion.

Magic.—Vitally related to and infinitely confused with early religion was magic. Professor Thomas takes the view that magic with the savage is of higher importance than religion, because it implies a scientific attitude in that it is the attempt to explain things, thus becoming the forerunner of modern science. In nearly every tribe there was some person or persons similar to the medicine men of the American Indians whose function was to interpret signs, foretell the future, exercise power over the spirits, either in warding off calamity or in bringing things desired, cure the sick, and do those things which were beyond the power of the average man. In performing these duties this person—the witch doctor—resorted to magic. In this way magic along with superstition played quite an important part in primitive religion. As the religion became elevated, it gradually purged itself of these impurities, although most religions are not yet entirely clear of them.

Importance of Primitive Religion.—Formerly religion was of greater social importance than it is to-day; it was not necessarily more vital to civilization, but it absorbed more of the life of the savage. With him religion entered into every act of life. The gods had to be consulted before

any important event took place, even after the state of savagery was passed. The Romans would never undertake any war or military expedition or engage in any battle unless the signs were favorable. The king or chief was also high priest at first, and, as we noticed in the last chapter, church and state were one; it was not until very recent times that they became separated. Religion was a tribal affair, and every member of the tribe not only adopted the religion of the tribe, but took his or her part in the services or ceremonies. Religious dances formed an important feature in religion, in the same manner that the dance played an important part in all phases of the life of the savage. Religious feasts were held in times of harvest, and on other special occasions.

The moral effect of religion was chiefly in the way of producing tribal solidarity, and in restraining the tendencies to excess. It would tolerate those things which were of help to the tribe, and forbid those things which were injurious. It developed tribal loyalty, obedience to the chief, observance of tribal customs, and subordination of individual interests to tribal interests. In practice it acted as a strong conservative force, checking and discouraging individual initiative and independence. On the other hand, it was a hindrance to reform and gave little opportunity for original thinking; in fact it discouraged it. This unfortunately is a tendency which all religions have too strictly fostered; it is one which we are even to this day struggling to overcome. While primitive religion kept the individual from excesses, it often was an impediment to progress.

Before we can get a really good picture of the evolution of religion, we must consider the development of national religions and take up a study of the leading religions of to-day, not so much from a theological as from a historical standpoint.

The Growth of National Religion From Tribal Religion.—As one god became more important, its worship spread, and because of some superior appeal to the people it came into greater popularity. Although each tribe tended to

keep its own objects of worship, unless it was conquered by some other tribes, the gods of the stronger and more important tribes began to supplant the gods of the weaker peoples because of the greater confidence reposed in them. The religion which appealed to the primitive mind tended to survive, but as man began to mount higher and higher in the scale of civilization, the religions which had higher conceptions of divinity and were loftier in their teachings grew at the expense of the lower and inferior. Also the religions which were detrimental to the group, such as those permitting or demanding human sacrifices, thus either killing off their own population directly, or indirectly by fighting for captives to offer as sacrifices, were weeded out. The tribes which had such religions lost in the struggle for existence, and of course their religions crumbled with them. On the other hand, religions which stood for customs and habits advantageous to the group, as for instance those advocating monogamy, and good treatment of women and opposing infanticide and slavery, increased in strength, because their groups increased in numbers and power. In this way the higher religions logically supplanted the lower. Then as tribes became more powerful, they compelled other tribes to adopt their gods, either by force of arms or by example. The weaker tribes were generally willing to do so, because they wanted the favor of what they considered to be more powerful gods. Thus national religion supplanted tribal religion; it was simply the enlarging of the scope and territory of the beliefs which were superior. Then, too, by coming into contact with other religions even these superior religions improved, adopting in many cases the better elements of the rival beliefs. Hence as their scope and power increased, the religions themselves became more elevated.

The Religions of Early Babylon and Egypt.—Of the three seats of early culture, Chaldea (or Early Babylon), Egypt, and China, Chaldea was in all probability not only the earliest but the center from which the other two were derived. Other peoples, especially the Hebrews, borrowed heavily from Early Babylon, the Jewish Legal Code being

traced back in many particulars to the Code of Hammurabi, which antedated the laws of the Jews by many centuries. The people of Early Babylon were cosmopolitan; in fact, Hammurabi, the first great king, ruled a collection of many peoples, who spoke many tongues. As a consequence their religion was not a pure religion but a mixture of many beliefs. There was a belief in spirits; the world was thought to be full of such spirits, which could be controlled only by means of charms and magic. These spirits were supposed to be responsible for all pain and disease as well as misfortune; thus the cruelty and superstition of the Babylonians are partially accounted for. Nature worship was also interwoven into the spirit worship. There was a vast number of gods, both great and minor, the worship of one predominating in one city, and that of another in another city; hence there was no common system. Most of the gods were represented by animal emblems. The religion was too complicated to develop into a real state religion. While the higher religion of Babylon took the form of worship of a human overlord, who controlled the destinies of man, it never fully drove out the old belief in spirits and never stopped the making of sacrifices to them. Although it was a confusion of beliefs, with many cults, and never came near to monotheism, the religion of Babylon was an advance from the previous timid trafficking with spirit, through fear, toward the service of gods which were looked upon as friends of man. When Babylon was absorbed into the Persian Empire, it lost its religion, which was not sufficiently developed to survive.

Egypt was an ancient country, even before the Hebrews went to live there, for the Shepherd Kings, who reigned at that time, overthrew a still older civilization. Part of this civilization consisted of a religion which was elaborately worked out—a religion which was a combination of many faiths and the product of many forces, for Egypt had been conquered many times, and each conquest had left its impress. The earliest religion which we can find in Egypt was the resultant of many still earlier religions.

It contained remnants of animal worship, as illustrated by the enormous temples which were erected to sacred animals, particularly the ibis, cow, and cat, and by the fact that those animals were sacred in the provinces in which they were worshiped. Alongside of this was the worship of higher gods, such as the sun, moon, and sky. Chief among these gods was Ra, meaning "sun," who was supposed to be a kindly old king and warrior, who guided the soul through the underworld, of which he was also lord, and around whose figure was interwoven a great deal of mythology. There was a family of gods similar to the Greek family of gods, consisting of Osiris, the sun god of Abydos, his wife and sister, Isis, and brother, Set. While Osiris was the embodiment of light and purity, Set was supposed to represent the opposite; he was the embodiment of all evil, particularly the desert, darkness, the hot south wind, sickness, and, what seems strange to us, red hair. Between Osiris and Set there was constant hostility, and we have the story of the death of Osiris, the search for the body by Isis, and the avenging of the death by the son, Horus. While by no means monotheistic, Egyptian religion approached monotheism through the predominance of the stronger gods and the predominance of one god in each city or province. Each place had its own favorite god and attempted to make that god supreme, but there was no unity of belief in any particular place, although all the gods were apparently sun gods; thus Egyptian religion tended to forms of sun worship.

Egyptian temples were residences of the gods, rather than places of worship, images being placed in the temples so that the gods might enter them. The worship of the gods was celebrated by great festivals and parades, worship being a public rather than a private function. The kings were supposed to have descended from the gods, and it was one of their chief cares to erect stately dwellings for the deities.

Egyptian religion included a belief in future existence. This conviction motivated the care of the dead by means of embalming the body, and inspired the prevailing idea

of the duty of marrying in order to bring into the world children who would pay the necessary attention to the body after death. The pyramids were erected as tombs for the kings. The belief was that the soul accompanied the sun god to the underworld, where its lot depended upon how its possessor had lived or had treated the god during life. While Egyptian religion was an advance over what had preceded, showed possibilities of becoming a pure spiritual faith, and embodied many ideas of correct living and of duty to neighbors, it became degenerate and corrupt with the decay of Egyptian civilization and the crumbling of that nation as a political state. Reliance upon magic increased, pantheistic beliefs grew in importance, and the priesthood became corrupt, despotic and oppressive. While it undoubtedly contributed somewhat to subsequent religions, its influence was nothing in comparison with that of other nations, particularly the Jews.

Both the Babylonian and Egyptian cults show how religions develop through the coming together of many religions. In the attempt to obtain a centralized worship the religion thrives, grows purer, flourishes, and later declines and gives way to a loftier religion. The Babylonian and Egyptian religions were too cold and formal to become great, although they exerted some influence upon the development of other religious beliefs.

The Religions of Ancient Greece and Rome.—The religion of Greece passed through the same stages as other religions; however, because of the high state of culture attained, the rapid growth of civilization, and the favorable environment, which stimulated the imagination and philosophical and religious development, it developed much more rapidly than the religions of other countries. The early history of Greece is so much interwoven with mythology and intermingles to such an extent the acts of men and of gods, that it is very difficult to determine its exact nature. While nature and spirit worship at one time existed in Greece, they were early abandoned. The gods were functional gods and had distinctly human attributes;

not only were they thought of as having human bodies, but were idealized as the perfection of the human form. They had not only human bodies but even human passions; they hated, loved, were jealous, and even stole like human beings, despite the belief that they were endowed with superhuman powers. The Greek gods formed a family, Zeus being the father and Hera the mother. The number of the gods and goddesses increased without limit. The Athenians after establishing a vast number of temples and shrines, erected one to the "unknown god" for fear that they had omitted one. Each city had its patron god or goddess; also each divinity represented a particular function.

With Greek religion went a belief in a future world inhabited by spirits who received rewards or punishments, particularly the latter. Perhaps the greatest effect of Greek religion was the inspiration it gave to art, especially sculpture, architecture and poetry. The religious festivals and games offered an incentive to physical development. While the gods were supposed to be guardians of justice, righting wrongs and meting out punishments in both this and the future world, and in this way to hold men in restraint through fear of punishment, the moral effect was almost negligible, for the gods represented the prevailing standards of morals. The gods were not distinctly good or bad; they even quarreled among themselves; but they were called upon in time of need or danger. The Greek religion did not hold out a goal to be attained, such as the Nirvana of Buddhism or the Heaven of Christianity. It did, however, prepare the way for Christianity, which easily supplanted the Greek religion when the early Christian apostles preached the new faith.

Rome offers perhaps the best example of the survival of the fittest in regard to religion. Early Roman religion was animistic, there being no real gods but a host of spirits, which dwelt in nature. These nature spirits were worshiped or appealed to, not with a feeling of love but in a sense of bargaining or contract, sacrifices and worship being given in exchange for protection and help. There

was the worship of the Lares, or household gods, who were the spirits of the ancestors, to whom prayers and offerings were made, because they were supposed to give or withhold prosperity. This led to the introduction of the worship of deified persons, like Romulus and later Julius Cæsar, which worship was added to the previous religion. Roman religion became a part of the state, no war or enterprise being undertaken without consulting the gods and then not carried out unless the omens were favorable.

The religion was so complicated that it required a priestly class to interpret the will of the gods or the wishes of the spirits, a thing which they did by examining the entrails of animals offered as sacrifices and by interpreting the flights of birds. Instead of suppressing or ridiculing the beliefs of the peoples whom they conquered, the Romans respected them, looking upon their gods as real beings with whom they themselves wished to be on good terms, and taking the attitude of toleration, instead of contempt or a desire for suppression which most conquering nations up to this time had exhibited. When Rome came in contact with and later conquered Greece, the Romans took over almost entirely the Greek worship, especially their conception of the gods, only giving the Greek gods and goddesses Latin names, and carried out their worship to such an extent that many people think of the Roman religion merely as an outgrowth of Greek religion.

This principle of toleration was abandoned after Christianity invaded Italy and threatened to supplant the former worship. Then the government attempted to stamp out Christianity by persecution, but in so doing only spread it and hastened its final adoption by the entire population. Thus through competition the best elements of the different religions survived until finally Christianity won the supremacy over all competitors and became the dominant religion. Increasing in force after the fall of Rome as a world power, it became incorporated into the state and ruled Europe for a long time politically, socially, morally, and religiously through the Catholic

Church, which later split into the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches.

The Great World Religions of To-day.—This constant evolution of religion is to be observed among the religions of to-day as well as among those of antiquity, for it still continues. The religions which serve and aid mankind the most are the ones which are increasing and which are supplanting those that are inferior in this respect. While there are many religions in the world, five stand out above all others, not only in the number of adherents but in their social influence. In order to complete our study of the evolution of religion, we must take a brief glance at the essential features of Confucianism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity, taking them up according to their rank in social importance and development, although this does not accord completely with the chronological order of their origin.

1. *Confucianism.*—The most influential of the three religions of China—Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism —Confucianism is an integral part of Chinese civilization, which has been looking backward for centuries. While named after Confucius, a Chinese sage and philosopher who is supposed to have lived from 550 to 478 B.C., it antedated him by many centuries, for Confucius was chiefly a collector and preserver of the wisdom of the past, although he did add somewhat to it. He collected this knowledge and handed it down in written form, of which there are now preserved five or six books. To these books is added a second set of classics edited by disciples of Confucius, especially Mencius, which are supposed to contain teachings of Confucius. The worship of Confucius himself is the chief addition to the worship of the time prior to him. Confucianism in reality is not much of a religion according to our conception of religion, being more a system of philosophy. There is nothing cruel or revolting or degrading in the worship, no mythology, no idols, no priestly class. Everything is dignified and well arranged. It is essentially a religion of form, in which doctrine counts for very little and action is not governed

by any code of ethics. The main thing is to do the proper thing at the proper time in the proper way.

The objects of worship are of three classes: (*a*) *heaven,* the principal Chinese deity, by which is meant the sky—the blue air—which is conceived of as a living force, and worshiped for itself and not as the residence of some other power; (*b*) the *spirits,* all good, generally spoken of in the plural sense, there being one for each object of nature, and conceived of, not as moving around, but as being organized into a priesthood, and worshiped in a body; (c) *ancestors,* the worship of whom is the prescribed working religion of each individual. Belief in the future world is centered in the idea of the continuation of the family; it is thought to be the duty of everybody to marry and rear descendants in order to carry on this worship. Tablets are placed in the home to the memory of these ancestors; and to these tablets the spirits of the ancestors are supposed to come when properly invoked. The emperor must sacrifice to all the emperors who preceded him, and the magistrates to all who have held the office before them. This homage is given, not for the sake of peace or aid, but because of gratitude and devotion. The person offering sacrifices prays to be worthy of offering them. There is no self-humiliation, for the Chinese take their religion complacently.

Under Confucianism religion is not separated from daily life; it is a ritual fixed by tradition and carried out by custom and habit. As taught by Confucius religion becomes a theory of government and morals. In the way of social influence Confucianism is largely responsible for the complacency of the Chinese; it is one of the causes of the backwardness of China. Closely akin to Confucianism is Taoism, a cult founded by Lao Tzu, which in its early days consisted of a higher code of morals and self-discipline than Confucianism. It degenerated, however, into magic and, while it later borrowed the apparatus of religion from Buddhism and won many adherents, it has never obtained a vital hold upon the people. Confucianism never grappled with the social problems of the day

or attempted to reform things; it has merely tried to hold them as they were. Its effect has been to keep its adherents from advancing. Unlike many religions it has not degenerated or become corrupt, but has remained much the same as it was two thousand years ago—it has neither advanced nor degenerated.

2. *Brahmanism.*—Brahmanism is the direct outgrowth of the anterior Vedic religion, which was brought into India by her conquerors. The Vedic religion was an advance over the previous faith of Babylon, but was a combination of spirit and nature worship. It went further in its approach to monotheism by making one god at a time supreme, each one in turn becoming dominant. All the gods were supposed to represent various manifestations of one supreme being. It had risen beyond the worship of idols or fetishes, thus producing higher conceptions than had formerly prevailed. Upon this Vedic faith was based Brahmanism, which cast aside the old ideas of nature worship in favor of an inward subjective religious attitude. New gods were introduced, chief of whom is Brahma, who is also the head of a trinity consisting of Brahma, the creator, Vishnu, the preserver, and Siva, the destroyer. The conception of Brahma is not unlike our idea of Jehovah; he is not only an external deity, but is also present in one's own experience. But while Christianity teaches that we serve God by serving our fellowmen, Brahmanism teaches that this is done by getting away from mankind, by isolation and separation of self from the sin of the world. There is no distinction between good and bad works, for to be holy one must keep clear from all that degrades or confuses. Salvation is a matter of individual concern, there being no desire to spread the light or to save others. Religion is gained through isolation; to be holy one must be alone.

Connected with Brahmanism are sacred books, including the sacred Vedic literature, supposedly inspired writings, hymns, treatises and law books; there are also the famous laws of Manu, compiled about 2000 B.C., a collection of rules designed to govern the entire Hindu popu-

lation. There is also required of the Brahmans a complicated system of sacrifices, which have become a matter of form. The social effects have been great, but since only the individual is concerned, group morality has not been fostered. Brahmanism has not attempted to relieve the sufferings of the people or lay hold of the problems of society. It has allowed the people of India to live in poverty and misery; it has made no attempt to break down the caste system, but on the contrary has upheld it, because the priestly class is on top of the social pyramid. Neither has it attempted to elevate the position of woman; it has held her down. These failures indicate its great weakness, because a religion to be successful must aid humanity. Brahmanism has not done it. Its keynote is isolation and self-salvation. It has, however, paved the way for Buddhism, which was an outgrowth of it and which is the culmination of Indian religion.

3. *Buddhism.*—Although it originated in India, Buddhism was banished from that country and is now extinct there. It is found in China, Japan, Tibet, Java, Sumatra, Siam, Burmah, and Ceylon. It is divided into northern and southern branches. While considered a revolt from Brahmanism, it is simply the evolution of Brahmanism into a higher form.

Buddhism is a religion without a god, without prayer, without a priesthood, without worship. It is a religion which owes its success not to its theology or to its ritual, for it has neither, but to its moral sentiment and to its external organization. The term "Buddha" means the Enlightened One or the Enlightened; there were supposed to have been twenty-four of these Enlightened Ones before Gautama, the founder of Buddhism, appeared. They were human but were supposed to have reached a superhuman condition by passing through periods of renunciation and of compassion for man's suffering and to have entered human life and borne the burden of man's suffering. It is not negative like Brahmanism, but positive and constructive. One achieves happiness through a life of right living; thus the religion has an extremely high code

of morals and ethics. It offers Nirvana, a place of salvation, the Heaven of Buddhism; this is a place of liberation and freedom, which one can reach even before death. The way of reaching it is by a life of self-renunciation and by suppression of the desires and passions. Under Buddhist morality, which includes equality towards all and respect for all living beings, are five rules of righteousness, which resemble the ten commandments, and are binding on all followers of Buddha. These are: (1) not to kill any living being; (2) not to take that which is not given; (3) to refrain from adultery; (4) to speak no untruth; and (5) to abstain from all intoxicating liquors. Devout members add the following: (1) not to eat after mid-day; (2) not to be present at dancing, singing, the playing of music, or acting; (3) not to use wreaths, ointments, scents, or personal ornaments; (4) not to use a high or a broad bed; and (5) to possess no silver or gold.

Because there is no god, prayers, or sacrifices, priests are unnecessary. Man must save himself by his own efforts. While under Buddhism there are no priests, there are wanderers who leave home and travel about, teaching and practicing the religion. They resemble the monks and friars of the Catholic Church.

Buddhism became marvelously popular because of its simplicity, morality and broad humanity. But because of its openness and freedom it has degenerated, becoming contaminated with magic and superstition in every land where it has gone. It was too lofty to be appreciated, and therefore was not suitable as a working religion to the people with whom it dealt. While a lofty religion, Buddhism even at its best is a sad religion, regarding human life as evil. While having deep compassion for the sufferings of man, it has taken no means of reforming the world, concerning itself only with winning individual adherents; so it has had little social effect, although it has not been reactionary as Brahmanism has been. On the whole it is an exceedingly free religion, allowing its followers to worship as they see fit or not to worship at all.

In loftiness it is probably next to Christianity, with which it is competing for supremacy in the East. This very competition is having its effect on Buddhism. It is forcing it to cast off many of its later accretions and to again emerge on a high level. It is also assuming some of the practices and beliefs of Christianity.

4. *Mohammedanism.*—In point of time Mohammedanism is the last of the great religions, appearing six centuries after Christianity, and incorporating many of the Christian ideals; but it borrowed still more from Judaism, which it closely resembles. It was founded in Arabia by Mohammed or Mahomet, who was born about A.D. 570. Arabia is a desert country and is inhabited by wandering tribes, who are held together by ties of kinship. At the time of Mohammed, Arabia had no settled religion, but there was a confusion of nature and spirit worship, each tribe having its own beliefs. The people generally did not believe in many gods, especially the minor ones; so the country was ready for a new religion. Both Judaism and Christianity were known and respected in Arabia, but were not adopted to any extent because of the widespread dislike of the Hebrews, who were unpopular because of their pride, exclusiveness, and success as money lenders. Mohammed had traveled much and thus had come into contact with both of these religions; also while herding sheep he had had opportunity for meditation and study. When he first started out to teach, he was rejected and ridiculed at Mecca, but he was later received and even welcomed at Medina, a more cosmopolitan place. When he found he could not spread the faith to any extent through persuasion, he adopted force and compelled all Arabia to adopt it, giving the choice of accepting Mohammedanism or the sword. Naturally they chose the religion. He also showed great diplomacy and executive ability in welding these tribes together and adopting enough of their old faiths and practices, especially pilgrimages and ceremonies, to win their allegiance. After conquering Mecca he spared the city and made it his capital. Before his death

he started out upon the conquest of the world but died before it was well under way, leaving his plans to his followers, who carried them out as far as they were able, sweeping over all of Asia Minor and Northern Africa and entering Europe by way of Spain and the Balkans. They were barely stopped from a conquest of all Europe at the Battle of Tours, A.D. 732.

Mohammedanism includes a belief in one god, known as Allah, and in angels, good and bad spirits, prophecy, revelation, and a resurrection and judgment day, as well as a heaven and a hell. Allah is conceived of as an all powerful and just ruler. Mohammed represented himself as a prophet of Allah. "There is no God but Allah, and Mohammed is his prophet!" was the slogan. Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Jesus were also recognized as prophets. Hell is represented as a place of torment and Heaven as a place of sensual pleasure. In addition to faith, prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimages are duties of the Moslem. Every believer must pray five times a day, and must, at least once during his lifetime, make a pilgrimage to Mecca. Drinking and gambling are prohibited. To wage holy war is an obligation. The Koran, which closely resembles the Old Testament, is the Mohammedan Bible. In reality this faith has many points of similarity to Judaism, only it is better adapted to become a world religion.

Mohammedanism, because of the adaptability of the faith, the readiness of the people for it, and the ability of its founder, had a growth which was marvelous in its rapidity. It is spreading swiftly to-day in Asia and Africa, being the great rival of Christianity in Africa and western Asia; and in many lands it is more successful than Christianity, because it is more easily understood. This is particularly true in India, where it is making great inroads upon the ranks of Brahmanism. In fact it and Christianity seem to be contending for supremacy in this ancient religious stronghold. In many ways Mohammedanism has the decided advantage. It not only seems

better able to adapt itself but the difference between it and the former faith is not so great as between that and Christianity. Then in the case of Christianity there is the great antagonism to any thing which is Occidental, and especially Anglo-Saxon, because of the dislike for the English in India. So at present Mohammedanism bids fair to win over at least a large part of this great field. Mohammedanism has also followed Arabian civilization into other parts of Asia and the islands of the East Indies. While a very successful and advanced religion Mohammedanism lacks the high morality of Buddhism and the warmth and love of Christianity. It is, however, a decided advance over the previous religions of the peoples who now embrace it, and must be counted as one of the great world religions, both as to numbers and in loftiness of thought.

5. *Christianity.*—Any treatment of Christianity should be prefaced by one of Judaism, of which it is an outgrowth, but because of lack of space and general familiarity with the principles of Judaism, such a treatment may be omitted. At the time of the coming of Christ, Judaism had become hardened into mere formalism and needed rejuvenation. Christianity fulfilled that need by replacing the religion of form by one of love.

Christianity is not a religion of fear—although many have tried to make it such—but one of inspiration, one which leads instead of drives. It is not a religion of definite rules but one of freedom and inner guidance. When Christianity appeared, the world was in need of a higher religion, hence its rapid rise and remarkable influence. It later became hardened into too definite a system under the Roman and Greek Catholic Churches, and still later under many of the Protestant sects, perhaps most noticeably under the Puritans and the Church of England. The latest attempt to solidify Christianity into a hard and fast form is our present Fundamentalist movement in the United States. While for a time this loomed up as a real menace to religious freedom of thought and

liberty of individual interpretation it is already beginning to wane and bids fair to go down in history as an attempt —a serious, sincere one on the part of most of its followers,—to go back to former conceptions and methods. Christianity, however, seems to be able to survive all such movements and to steadily work toward higher levels. The constant trend is to throw off the control of individuals and the opinions of a few, and allow greater and greater individual freedom, especially in the Protestant denominations. While there are reactions the tendency is towards less quarreling over matters of opinion and greater eagerness to go on to higher conceptions of religion and wider fields of usefulness. Because Christianity is essentially a religion of freedom, hope, and love, it is best fitted to become a universal religion. While it is without doubt the loftiest religion and at present the greatest achievement in the evolution of religion, it has not as yet reached its highest development or its greatest usefulness, but is constantly advancing as fast as humanity is able to appreciate it.

The field of greatest promise for Christianity seems today to be in Asia. Here because of sharp competition with Brahmanism, Mohammedanism, Confucianism, and Buddhism, particularly the last two, it is working out newer and freer forms of thought and action and a more liberal policy. It is even possible that the Oriental will more nearly approach the real conception and aim of Christ than the Occidental. Some even go so far as to say that Christianity after all is an Oriental religion, that in many ways it is too lofty for the Occidental mind to grasp and that it will require an Oriental atmosphere for its highest development. At any rate, Western civilization has not been able hitherto to fully grasp or practice it. It has tried to make it into either a religion of form and ritual or to press it into a definite set of rules and regulations and to interpret it through a definite creed and theology.

There are many problems facing the Christian Church

to-day, particularly in America. One of these is the serious problem of sectarianism. There are nearly four hundred different sects or divisions of sects in the United States. Even the large denominations, like the Methodist Episcopal, Baptist, Presbyterian and Lutheran, are subdivided. Some have twenty or more sub-divisions. In addition there are sects representing almost every shade of belief. While many serious Christian leaders have attempted to weld these into one, and even serious movements, like the recent Inter-Church movement, have been organized, none of these has progressed very far. Some slight gains have been made but these have been chiefly local or temporary achievements, such as the organization of community churches, especially in rural communities, where there were several inefficient organizations. In certain sections there have been working agreements between different denominations and at times even unions. but in general the number of denominations has not been seriously reduced. In fact, the Fundamentalist movement has bid fair to split our present bodies in two and so make just that many more divisions. The hold of sectarianism apparently is too strong to be shaken except by a long, slow process of education of several generations.

The great problem now before the Protestant Churches is the controversy between the so-called Fundamentalists and Modernists. While there are many differences this controversy simmers down to whether we shall work out a newer theology in keeping with discoveries and theories of science, such as the discoveries of Anthropology, Archæology, Astronomy, Biology and Geology, and the evolutionary theory in science. The Fundamentalists insist on a return to former faith and beliefs. In order to have some sort of working program they have at times tried to formulate a creed and to agree upon certain fundamental theological beliefs. Among these latter, which are generally accepted by the Fundamentalists, are the belief in the miracles of the Bible, the literal interpretation and verbal inspiration of the Scriptures, the belief in

the virgin birth and the bodily resurrection after death. There is little doubt in regard to the ultimate outcome of this controversy, for we have had much the same dispute with regard to previous discoveries, especially in regard to the rotundity of the earth. Former theology accepted the earth as flat but when people began to sail around the earth theology was revised. The Modernists contend that theology is merely man's attempt to explain or interpret, and must be in accord with facts. There are many difficulties and much friction. While the Modernists, in accordance with the policy of religious freedom, recognize the right of the Fundamentalists to their opinions and interpretations, the Fundamentalists are not so liberal. They feel that they, and they alone, have the true conception and therefore they object to teachers and preachers explaining the Modernist beliefs. They have even driven from the churches and schools under their control ministers and teachers who will not accept their position. In their programs of education through the Sunday Schools they are endeavoring so to implant the Fundamentalist conception that future teaching and reading will not shake it. The real tragedy, of course, comes in the fact that while they can easily control the unthinking and less serious elements, they are driving from their churches and schools the most thoughtful, serious, and conscientious of the younger generation; in short, they are alienating their real leaders. If the ablest and most serious are thus driven out of the Church, Christianity will lose. While the younger generation will gladly accept the Modernist conception if given the chance, the present Fundamentalist program of exclusion keeps many from finding out what it is.

There are of course many other problems facing Christianity, such as problems of organization, religious education, evangelism, and questions of theology, but these are outside of our present study.[3]

[3] *The World Almanac*, 1928, gives the following estimates of the number of adherents of the various religions:

Evolution of Ethics.—Ethics, or the study of morals, is a separate science in itself and has its subdivisions, like sociology; theoretical ethics deals with the theory of morals and practical ethics with human conduct. Sociology is closely connected with ethics, especially with what is called social ethics; but it is especially interested in moral codes, their influence in controlling society and their origin and development. We take these codes for granted; but they are subject to change, and differ with time, place, and condition. We have codes of conduct in regard to the handling of property, those forbidding stealing, for illustration, but our interpretation of just what is stealing or immoral use of property is constantly changing. We have codes in regard to telling the truth, but the Chinese and African have different codes. Codes of family morality have been and are still evolving. Religious codes differ with the religion and the time. Under Puritanism all labor and recreation were forbidden on the Sabbath, but we are making different codes in regard to Sabbath observance. We have codes in regard to injury to others, assault being forbidden, for example. We have codes in regard to wearing clothing, but the amount and nature differ with the time, place and style.

We cannot here take up a study of these different codes. We merely mention them as part of our system of social control. They have not all evolved in the same way, being

Christians:		
Roman Catholics	331,500,000	
Orthodox (Greek) Catholics	144,000,000	
Protestants	206,900,000	682,400,000
Confucianists, Taoists		350,600,000
Hindus (Brahmanists)		230,150,000
Mohammedans		209,020,000
Buddhists		150,180,000
Animists		135,650,000
Shintoists		25,000,000
Jews		15,630,000
Miscellaneous		50,870,000
Grand Total		1,849,500,000

Such estimates of course are open to some question.

affected by geographical environment and other conditions in a manner similar to other social institutions. Religion has been one of the greatest factors in their development; economic and industrial progress has also conditioned their growth. We could neither develop codes in regard to property until there was property, nor in regard to industrial organization till we had that organization.

When we take up our study of groups we shall find that the group condemns those things which seem to be disadvantageous to it, and approves that which seems advantageous; in this way group morality developed. In fact most moral codes have developed as group codes. Moral codes are never settled, for new conditions are constantly creating new problems to be solved. Take the question of justice; every new invention upsets to some extent the existing code of justice, and we must adopt our code to the new condition. In short, moral codes are the product of society and are conditioned by social progress. They also help mold society and aid or retard further progress. While morality has its roots in human nature, its specific forms are determined by conditions of society. Like other social institutions morality is the product of society.

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CHAPTER XVI

EDUCATION

In this chapter education will be treated as an institution of society, and an attempt will be made to outline in a general way its evolution. While a broad view of the subject will be taken, particular attention will be given to school systems as representing in concrete fashion the different forms of education.

Primitive Education.—Education is seen in its simplest form among primitive peoples. There is no school, and education is largely a matter of imitation, being to a great extent unconscious. The purpose is, however, much the same as that recognized in our most highly developed school systems—namely, fitting the youth for life. With primitive man as with modern man, knowledge is essential to the maintenance of life. Primitive man must understand nature in order to keep alive, and the primitive child needs training in the art of obtaining food, clothing, and shelter. He must know how to avoid the wild animals and how to hunt or fish. In order to progress, each generation must profit by the experience of the preceding ones.

While the bulk of primitive instruction comes through observation and imitation, there are various methods of supplying definite training and instruction. One of the best known is the initiation ceremony. Among most primitive peoples every boy before entering upon the duties and dignity of manhood is obliged to go through an initiation. In many tribes girls are compelled to perform similar rites before they are recognized as women. This initiation generally comes during the period of

puberty and lasts several days, sometimes for weeks and months. Often the novice is obliged to go through ceremonies which are symbolic or religious. During these ceremonies the youth is taught the legends and history of the tribe and the significance of the various celebrations, songs, dances, and rites. Instruction is given in religion, also in tribal and family duties. The importance of the occasion, and of the instruction, is impressed upon the mind of the youth by the seriousness of the instructors and the ceremony and dignity attached to the rites. The life of primitive man is as a rule hard, one in which he is obliged to endure hunger, cold, and pain; to fit himself for this life the youth is usually compelled to pass rigid examinations. He is generally forced to endure pain without flinching; he endures such tests as having teeth knocked out, smoking or burning over a fire, and flogging. Frequently the boy carries to the grave the scars made during his initiation ceremony. He is often required to fast for a time, or to procure his own food without assistance; or he may be compelled to abstain from certain foods. So severe are these initiations that among some tribes it is not at all uncommon for youths to die under them. The rites for girls are ordinarily not so severe, nor are they carried out with so great care, because of the lesser importance of females in the eyes of society.

By means of these initiations young men are taught obedience and respect for their elders. Also, much practical instruction is given in methods of capturing certain animals, in the art of making fire, concerning the importance of marriage and the duty of providing for the family. However, much superstitition and magic are also taught, such as belief in spirits, and animal worship. Because of this, primitive education has had little progressive value other than as an adjustment to one's environment. It did have value in teaching group solidarity, and thus contributed its part to the preservation of man and the continuance of races. But as society advanced and the needs of man changed, it gave way to other methods of instruction.

Oriental Education.—*Chinese Education.*—The second stage in educational development has persisted almost to the present day in many of the Oriental nations, particularly China, which continued its ancient system down to the beginning of the twentieth century. With the Chinese formal education consisted in the mastery of language and literature. The Chinese language is ideographic and not phonetic, and as a result there is a different character for each idea. While the bulk of their educational material contains only about 5000 different characters, it has been estimated that exclusive of synonyms and obsolete words there are 25,000 characters, and including all forms, about 260,000. These characters have to be memorized. Chinese education consisted in: (1) the mastery of these language forms; (2) committing to memory the sacred texts; and (3) the study of commentaries on these texts, for the purpose of acquiring the sacred literary style. In carrying out this scheme of education there was a system of schools which led up to and prepared for a schedule of governmental examinations. Each village or community had its elementary school, taught by some unsuccessful candidate for the degrees, or by the holder of a lower degree who was without an office. Here by a system of imitation and memorizing the student learned to read and write the different characters, although little connection was made between the two processes, the child often not knowing the meaning of either. On account of the poverty of the people few ever attended school, and of those who did attend only about one in twenty ever managed to pass beyond the elementary grade. Above the elementary schools the higher education consisted of the memorizing of the nine sacred classics and their commentaries. For those who failed in the examinations or were not successful in obtaining appointment to offices —and most of them did fail—education instead of preparing for life unfitted them for entering an ordinary occupation, for to do so would have brought about the loss of prestige. Many resorted to teaching, thus overcrowding that occupation.

The center of the Chinese educational system was the series of three governmental examinations for degrees and offices. These examinations consisted of the writing of verse and prose essays on themes taken from sacred writings. From those who passed the lower examinations the minor governmental officials were chosen, and from those who passed the higher examinations the chief officials of the empire were selected. A few were selected by a further private examination before the emperor to form his cabinet. The educational system was the royal road to preferment and advance. Each degree brought its own reward, as well as the opening up of an opportunity to advance still higher. Because of this fact many spent their entire lives in the endeavor to pass these examinations. The whole educational system conduced to this end.

The Chinese method was memory and imitation. No attempt was made to develop originality or creative power; these were suppressed. Now, however, this whole system is rapidly being replaced by Western methods. While it preserved the past, it stifled progress and was largely responsible for holding China back from advancement.

Hindu Education.—Quite similar to the education of China was that of India. There education was based upon the sacred Vedic literature and training in the laws and traditions. A great deal of it consisted of study of the mystical Brahman religion and the Hindu philosophy of asceticisms and isolation. Schools were kept by Brahmans, and to these not only Brahmans were permitted to go, but also members of the warrior and industrial classes, although few of these classes attended. The workers and outcasts were deprived of educational rights. So in practice education was a matter of caste and was almost limited to the Brahman of priestly caste. While by no means as barbarous and clumsy a system as the Chinese, education among the Hindus was not progressive. It did not attempt to fit for life work, for it consisted largely of memorizing the traditions and learning of the past. New methods and studies were forbidden. It was re-

stricted even more than the Chinese system, fully ninety-five per cent being deprived of it. In both countries education was forbidden to women, or rather women were not considered worthy of education.

Jewish Education.—Jewish education might be termed a sort of connecting link between Oriental and Occidental systems. While it consisted largely of a study of sacred literature—the Old Testament and the Talmud—it did give more opportunity for the development of personality than the systems of such countries as China and India. It was non-progressive and did not invite new theories or methods. It did not offer any opportunity for the development of science and art. Like the Hindu, it was restricted largely to the priestly class and was not open to the great mass of the population. Jewish schools were not so highly developed as those of China, which had a regular system of schools. Most of the teaching was done in the temples, and regular schools were not organized until the close of the national life of the race.

Greek Education.—Real educational progress began with the Greeks. Here the past was not worshiped as in the Orient, and progress was made. The methods of education, however, differed with the ideals of the individual state, those of Athens and Sparta being the two extremes.

Spartan Education.—In Sparta education was almost wholly physical and was a preparation for service to the state. It was severe and stern, even cruel at times, and was required of all Spartans, who, however, made up only about one-twentieth of the population. Because of this great inferiority in numbers the Spartans were obliged to be a superior race of fighters, and their whole system of training had that end in view. The infant was inspected at birth, and if sickly or deformed was "exposed" to die in the mountains. If healthy, the child was allowed to remain with its mother till seven years old, when it was placed in barracks and trained by the state. Here the youth was subject to discipline and spent his time in drilling and gymnastic exercises. The boys were taught to live a simple life, being inured to hard beds and scanty cloth-

ing and diet. Slight intellectual training was given; that provided was in the nature of memorizing the laws of Lycurgus and selections from Homer. Each boy was given an adult adviser. At the age of eighteen training in arms and methods of warfare was begun, varied by a severe flogging every ten days before the temple of Artemis. This continued for two years, when the youth entered the regular army and was assigned to a border fortress, where he was compelled to live on the coarsest of fare. At the age of thirty every man was compelled to marry. He could, however, live with his wife only clandestinely, being obliged to remain in the barracks and assist in the training of the boys. Similar education was marked out for the girls, in order that they might become mothers of sturdy sons, except that they remained at home. The whole system was designed to create strong warriors; it did to a wonderful degree accomplish its purpose. On the other hand, Sparta achieved nothing in art, literature, or philosophy, and contributed little if anything to civilization, other than the examples of heroism, physical endurance, and indifference to pain and discomfort which it gave.

Athenian Education.—In early Athens education consisted of training for service to the state, as in Sparta. Training began at the age of seven, but it was not limited to physical drill. Along with physical exercises (which lacked the severity of the Spartan régime) went education in music, reading, and writing. Moral training and discipline were given by a slave, called a pedagogue. At fifteen the Athenian youth took advanced training on the gymnasia, or exercising ground, and was given permission to go and come as he chose. At eighteen he took the oath of loyalty to Athens and entered upon a period of two years of military training, first at Athens, then at a fortress on the frontier. At twenty he became a citizen, but his education continued in the drama, in architecture, in sculpture, and in art. The weakness of the Athenian system was that the women were neglected entirely, except for training in household duties. Aside from this defect

Athenian education was far superior to that of Sparta, producing a better-rounded citizen.

Later this older form of education gave way to one of extreme individualism, under which the happiness of the individual was given more consideration than the welfare of the state. The study of grammar and rhetoric was especially emphasized because of the eagerness of the men to enter political life, and training in the gymnasia was neglected. With this change there appeared a class of teachers known as sophists; many of them were skilled teachers, but others were noted for their ability to argue and for their willingness to take any position. The three world-renowned Greek philosophers, Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle, lived during this period. They attempted to harmonize the old and the new educational institutions and to build systems of education and thought for future generations. They had little effect on their own period, although they have influenced all succeeding generations. Their point of view dominated the thought of Europe for centuries. After them there arose schools of rhetoric and philosophy, out of which grew the universities, such as the University of Athens, which flourished from the fourth century B.C. Other universities followed, the most noted of which were those of Pergamon, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Rome; but Athens remained the intellectual center of the world until about A.D. 300, when it gave place to Alexandria. During this time students flocked to Athens from all parts of the Roman Empire. The later intellectual supremacy of Alexandria resulted from the development of the Ptolemaic system of astronomy and from the reputation of such investigators as Euclid in geometry, Archimedes in physics, Eratosthenes in astronomy, and Diaphontus in algebra. In addition to the university centers many different schools of philosophers sprang up in various parts of the Hellenic world.

Greek thought and civilization extended their influence over the Orient and into every part of the Roman world. It did not merely conquer Rome; it has had its influence upon every age from that time down to the present. The

contribution of Greece to the world was that of civilization in its highest form.

Roman Education.—During the early days of Rome education was largely a family affair and, with the exception of a few elementary schools, there was no system of education. Children were taught by their parents, but because of the intense patriotism and active military policy of the Roman people, the object of all teaching was service to the state. The boys were trained by their fathers and the girls by the mothers, although in early childhood the mothers instructed both. They were given physical and moral training, and the ideals were rigorous and the discipline severe. As the boy grew older, he accompanied his father and thus learned efficiency in life by the force of example. If the boy belonged to the patrician class, he might be trained for a profession, as that of a soldier, lawyer, or statesman. If he was of the plebeian class, he usually learned the trade or occupation of his father. A girl, no matter to which class she belonged, was instructed in the domestic arts, especially in spinning and weaving wool. Through their parents the children were generally taught to read and write and to commit to memory legends, ballads, and martial and religious songs, and were made familiar with the *Twelve Tables,* or national laws. Education during this period was essentially practical and was intended to produce efficient parents, citizens, and soldiers—an aim which it accomplished. It trained the youth to be strong in mind and body, simple in his life, and reverential to the gods, to parents, and to law and tradition. It produced a nation of fighters, but did not produce idealists or philosophers; consequently ideals were narrow, selfish, and low. It served while Rome was small, but when Rome became a world power, this form of training had to be supplemented.

Hellenization of Roman Education.—In 168 B.C. Rome conquered Macedon, which under the leadership of Philip and Alexander had previously absorbed Greece. Instead of imposing Roman education upon Greece, Rome adopted Greek culture and civilization, including the Greek system

of education. It was not adopted altogether in the Greek form, but as it worked out in practice, Greek education was added to the Roman, and the result was an amalgamation. There was evolved a system of schools, consisting of three grades: (1) the *ludus,* or elementary school; (2) the *grammar* school; and (3) the *rhetorical* school.

At first there was no public educational system, the establishment of schools being a private matter. But in the time of the later empire the government began to subsidize the schools by contributing to their support, paying certain teachers, exempting the students from taxes and military duties and providing scholarships. On account of the rapid establishment of schools due to the desire of the people to obtain these privileges, rather than to procure an education; and in order to correct these and other abuses connected with the schools, the emperor decreed that he alone had the authority to establish schools, and brought them into the control of the government. In this way he laid the basis for a system of public education, the first known to history. While in the later days of the empire the schools deteriorated in character and influence, Roman education left its impress upon the world. It was essentially practical and helped mold the institutions that have advanced civilization. It adopted as a basis Greek education, added practical features, and thus prepared the world for further progress. It paved the way for the new educational system which was brought in by the Christian Church and which largely replaced the Roman school. The chief defect in Roman education was perhaps that it, like the Greek, was limited to the upper classes, and therefore was not democratic.

Early Christian Education.—When Rome began to decline, Christianity appeared and spread rapidly in spite of all attempts to prevent it. At first the new religion was accepted largely by the lower classes, such as the slaves and the poor. The majority of these classes of people were uneducated and unintelligent. The new religion, however, supplied them with moral training of a high order. Because of persecution and ostracism the early Christians were more or less segregated. There was

within these groups of Christians a demand for instruction in the new religion, and it was deemed necessary to give some such instruction before admitting into church membership. This led to the establishment of what were called "catechumenal" schools, which were held generally in some part of the church building, as the portico. The instruction was chiefly religious, including the reading and memorizing of scripture and the singing of hymns. The course of instruction usually lasted for a period of three years.

The early Christians were suspicious of the Greek and Roman philosophy and education. It was only natural that they should recall the immorality and the terrible persecutions of the Romans. But gradually there developed a reconciliation between the two, resulting in certain catechetical schools, in which there was some sort of alliance between Græco-Roman and Christian thought in education. The best known of these schools was probably the one at Alexandria, which was headed by Clement (150-215) and Origen (185-253), who were extremely advanced in their theology, so much so that they were branded as heretical. In these schools Christianity received a philosophical interpretation. Then in order to train workers and those intending to enter the clergy there were organized in the different cities what were known as "episcopal" or "bishops'" schools, later known as "cathedral" schools, because of their location. They developed into schools of three types, the "grammar" school, the "song" or music school, and the "choristers'" school, which was a combination of the two preceding. These increased in popularity and took the place of the older Roman schools which were subsidized by the emperors. With these schools there grew up again opposition to the Greek and Roman culture and ideas of life, and there was a breaking away from the Greek and Roman philosophy. This led to the rise of the monastic schools, which had so great an influence during the Middle Ages.

Education During the Middle Ages.—*Monastic Education.*—By the decree of Justinian in A.D. 529 the pagan schools were abolished, and the field was thus left open

to the cathedral and monastic schools. Monasticism grew up as a result of the desire on the part of some people for a deeper religious life, and as a reaction to the prevailing vice. Monasteries were founded, where the monks lived in cells, meeting for meals, communion, and instruction. This movement began in Egypt but quickly spread over Syria, Palestine, Greece, Italy, and Gaul. In the West the attention of the monks was directed especially to the cultivation of the soil and the preservation of literature. In accordance with a rule of St. Benedict, most of the monasteries adopted the plan of spending seven hours a day in manual labor and two hours in systematic reading. This created a demand for manuscripts, and each monastery had its "writing room" for the copying of manuscripts. Most of these manuscripts were of a religious nature, but some of them were from the classics. This literary activity helped to preserve the learning of the past. It also led to the establishment of monastic schools wih organized courses of study, of eight or ten years. These schools were instituted for the training of youths for the monastic orders, although some were admitted who did not intend to become monks; likewise some instruction was given women in the convents for nuns.

At first the training in these schools was elementary and narrow, but later included such studies as grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, which were called the lower studies, and arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy, which were known as the higher studies. Grammar included some work in literature; rhetoric some knowledge of law and history; dialectics led to metaphysics; geometry included geography and surveying; music reached such advanced phases as the theory of music; and astronomy included some physics and higher mathematics; so the courses of study were not so narrow as they would seem at first glance. Text-books were scarce, and the instructor usually dictated, and the pupil took the dictation down upon tablets and memorized it. Many textbooks were eventually produced, some of which were of high grade. While the monastic schools were conservative, supersti-

tious, and decidedly hostile to the classics and science, they did the world a great service by preserving and handing down much Græco-Roman culture that otherwise would have been lost.

In the seventh and eighth centuries the schools of Europe degenerated and education stood at a low ebb. It was at this time that Charlemagne, noticing the degeneracy, induced Alcuin, the head of a famous cathedral school at York, to come to the continent and reorganize education in France. He built up, with the patronage of Charlemagne, the Palace School, where instruction included grammar, rhetoric, dialectics, arithmetic, and theology. He also improved the cathedral, monastic, and parish schools. Later, Alcuin retired to the monastery at Tours, where he established a school to which the bright youths of the empire flocked. Many of these later became teachers and churchmen. Although in his old age Alcuin became ultra-conservative, his pupils generally were broad-minded, and the result of his going to France was a marked revival in education.

Moslem Contributions.—Because of the almost absolute illiteracy of Mohammed, the Koran, or Moslem Bible, was a strange jumble of religious ideas. When Mohammedanism came into contact with Greek philosophy in Syria and Asia Minor, the Koran had to be interpreted in Hellenistic terms. Works in philosophy, mathematics, and science were translated into Arabic, and the Mohammedan cities of Syria became noted for their learning. This did not win the approval of the mass of Mohammedans, and the more advanced members were driven out of Syria, taking refuge in Northern Africa and Spain. Here they founded colleges at Cordova, Granada, Toledo, and elsewhere, which preserved learning, especially in mathematics, science, law, and metaphysics. They came into contact with the Christians and created a desire for Greek learning, and later the Venetians brought many original Greek classics to Western Europe. This transfer of manuscripts preserved much of the learning of the East, which might otherwise have been lost.

Mediæval Universities.—Partly as a result of Moslem stimulation and partly on account of the local conditions many noted universities sprang up in Europe towards the close of the Middle Ages. The first of these was at Salerno, near Naples; it was simply a school of medicine, whose establishment was due to local conditions, such as the existence there of mineral springs and the preservation at that place of old Greek medical works. Probably the most noted of these universities was at Bologna, in Northern Italy. Through its investigations in Roman law it became noted for courses in canon and civil law. It was chartered by Frederick Barbarossa in 1158, and was perhaps the first university in the modern sense, having faculties in arts, medicine, and theology. The university at Paris was the next in order of foundation, and it became the most famous of them all. The universities of Bologna and Paris were of different types, the former representing the type known as "student" universities. In this type of institution the government was in the hands of students, who were often mature men; they selected the masters and determined the fees, length of term, and date of beginning. Paris was of the type known as "master" universities, where the students were younger, and where all management was in the hands of the masters. At the beginning of the Renaissance about eighty universities had been established upon one or the other of these two plans. Only about fifty survived, and these changed a great deal in character.

Universities were usually granted charters which carried special privileges of some kind, such as exemption from taxes and military service, the right to license masters, and the privilege of "striking" when rights were infringed upon. In the last case, lectures might be suspended and the university moved to another town, a transfer which was not very difficult because of lack of laboratories, libraries, and other equipment. Wandering students, a shiftless, reckless, and vicious lot, begging their way from one place to another and migrating from university to university, were also a feature of the time.

After a time, the universities were more closely organized, the students being grouped according to the countries or sections of Europe from which they came, and the masters into faculties. Each group of students had its counselor, who represented it and looked after its interests; and each faculty had its dean, who acted as its representative. The deans and counselors together generally selected the "rector," or head of the university. The faculties represented were as a rule arts, law, medicine, and theology. The courses of study in each of these institutions were determined either by papal decree or by legislation on the part of the university. The course in arts included the subjects taught in the monastic school, with the addition of the study of Aristotle. In the law course, *Corpus Juris Civilis* and the *Decree of Gratian* were used as texts in civil and canon law respectively. Texts were also used in the medical and theological courses. The lecture method was employed extensively, in which the texts were read and explained by means of notes, summaries, cross-references, and opinions of the professors. Opportunity was also given for argument and debate, all exercises being carried on in Latin, which had to be learned by the student before entering the university. Examinations were held and degrees conferred in much the same manner as at the present day. While the information was meager and the manner of presentation stereotyped and authoritative, and little was done in constructive thinking or investigation, the mediæval university contained the germ of scientific inquiry and modern freedom, and thus paved the way for progressive educational ideas. It advanced the cause of individualism and contributed its part to civilization and progress.

Agencies outside the school systems fostered special types of education, such as that given the upper classes through the institution of *chivalry,* and the industrial education received by members of the *merchant* or *craft guilds.* In the former case, the boys who expected to become knights were required to pass through a long period of training, first at home, then at some castle where the

youth served as a page and was trained by both the lord and lady, and later as a squire, when he attended the lord at the tournament or on the battlefield and went through a more strenuous training. Upon being knighted he had to observe certain ceremonies.

With the rise of commerce and industry in the later Middle Ages there developed commercial cities and a burgher class. Workmen organized themselves into guilds, which exercised rigorous supervision of the industry, and among other things regulated carefully the learning of the trade, in order to maintain quality of product and to guarantee prosperity for the workman. There were three stages: (1) apprentice, (2) journeyman, and (3) master. The apprentice received no wages but was under the protection of the guild while he received instruction. A journeyman received wages, but only by working for a master. He was obliged to pass an examination set by the guild before he was allowed to become a master. Thus a thorough industrial education was provided. Guilds also usually maintained priests whose duty it was to instruct the children a part of the time. Later, priests were regularly employed to teach school, and in this way guild schools sprang up. These were afterward absorbed by burgher or town schools, in which practical education was given in reading, writing, and reckoning. They were controlled by the public authorities and represented the interests of the commercial and industrial classes. They not only contributed to the development of commerce and industry, but they also educated the masses in the liberal arts and were a large factor in preparing the way for the Renaissance.

The Renaissance and Reformation.—*Classical Education.*—The intellectual awakening known as the Renaissance which occurred during the fourteenth century brought into Europe a tremendous revival of learning. It took the form of a study of the classics, and an enthusiasm or craze for this form of study spread over Europe with an eagerness that knew no bounds. At first

it was limited to a revival of the Latin classics and naturally started in Italy, the home of the Latin classics. The most noted of the early students of the classics were Petrarch and his pupil Boccaccio. Through their influence many Latin manuscripts were recovered, preserved, and copied, and a broad knowledge of Latin was handed down. Not much was done with the study of Greek till Chrysolas arrived in Italy as an envoy of the Eastern emperor, and was induced to settle there, in 1396, in order to teach Greek. With his help translations were made and a Greek grammar written. From that time the study of both Latin and Greek became paramount.

The study of the classics spread from Italy northward into France and Germany, where it developed into a broader system of culture. It was especially stimulated in France by the enthusiasm resulting from expeditions of several of the French kings into Italy, and later under the patronage of Francis I it was introduced into most of the educational institutions of France, where it produced many famous scholars. In Germany the Hieronymians, or Brethren of the Common Lot, were the first to introduce the study into their schools. Here Erasmus, who became the leader of the classical education in the north, was trained. Under his influence many textbooks and educational treatises were prepared. Classical training was introduced into many schools, and from the old cathedral and upper burgher schools there evolved the German "gymnasium," the typical classical school of that country. One of the first of these was established by Sturm at Strassburg, where a course of ten classes was provided, in which a careful study of the classics was carried out. The movement spread to England and was taken up at Oxford and Cambridge. The real development at Cambridge began when Erasmus, professor of theology, consented to lecture on Greek as a labor of love. A model for all secondary schools was founded in 1509 at St. Paul's by Colet. The study of the classics in England, however, degenerated into formalism, and the sec-

ondary schools have improved but little to the present day. The secondary schools of the American colonies were modeled upon those of the mother country.

Educational Influence of the Reformation.—The Reformation gave the world not only a religious awakening, but an educational inspiration as well. Luther stood primarily for religious reform, but he advocated the view that education should prepare for citizenship and should be state supported. Zwingli held similar views, but was killed before he was able to exercise much influence. Calvin not only founded several colleges but exercised an influence in the founding of others, and in determining the educational thought of Switzerland, France, the Netherlands, England and Scotland.

Catholic education also received a new impetus. The Jesuits organized classes to extend Catholic Christianity; these taught the classics, theology, and philosophy. The teachers were carefully trained and selected, and while the methods used consisted largely of memorizing and reviewing, with devices to stir up rivalry, they were effective. These colleges increased phenomenally, till in 1556 there were 769 such institutions scattered throughout the world, with an attendance of at least 200,000 students. Because of quarrels with the church the Jesuit order, the Society of Jesus, was dissolved by the Pope. While it was later restored, its educational influence never again became so great.

Other Catholic bodies also founded schools and exerted educational influences; such were the Jansenists, generally known as Port Royalists, because of the educational method used in the convent school at Port Royal. They held that reason was more important than memory, and established small schools, known as "little schools," where individual instruction was emphasized, and where stress was placed upon the vernacular, logic, and geometry. The phonetic method of instruction was here employed. The Christian Brothers emphasized practical studies, in addition to the study of academic subjects and religion. They introduced the "simultaneous," or group method of in-

struction, preferring it to individual instruction, which had prevailed in the past. They also established training courses for teachers for the elementary schools.

One of the contributions of the Reformation was the creation of a demand for universal elementary education and control of the schools by the state. While some Catholics in Germany, Holland, Scotland, and some of the American colonies took this position, the movement was much stronger among Protestants in those countries. With the Protestants the secondary schools came largely under the management of civil authorities, although the clergy generally taught and inspected them. With the Catholics secondary education was mainly in the hands of the Jesuits. During this time many colleges changed from the Catholic to the Protestant faith, and many new colleges, both Catholic and Protestant, were founded.

Modern Times.—During the seventeenth century *scientific education* developed rapidly. It had been stimulated by the labors of Copernicus, Kepler, and Galileo in the field of astronomy, and by the discoveries of Torricelli, Boyle, and Guericke. Newton, with his laws of motion; Harvey, with the discovery of the circulation of the blood; and other scientists, with their contributions, added to this impetus. The scientific movement was opposed at first by the churches, and consequently was not taken up by the colleges and universities for some time. But slowly and indirectly it crept into the elementary schools, and in time was incorporated in the courses of study of the colleges and universities throughout the world. German universities were the first to fall into line, especially those of Halle and Göttingen. The English universities of Oxford and Cambridge were much slower to accept science as an object of study. During the early part of the eighteenth century Yale, Princeton, Kings (afterwards Columbia), Dartmouth, Union, and Pennsylvania offered courses in science, and Harvard did so even before the close of the seventeenth century.

Growth of Democracy in Education. Its Extension to the Lower Classes.—During the early part of the eigh-

teenth century there was a revolt against the repression of opinion in theology and education, much like the revolt during the latter part of the same century against political repression. There was a struggle to free the intellect from formalism and dogma, and to interpret life from a more reasonable and natural point of view. One of the great thinkers of those times was Voltaire, who championed reason against tradition. While he particularly assailed the church, both Protestant and Roman Catholic—especially the latter—because he considered it an enemy of liberty and progress, he aided education not only by his criticism of the old systems, but by his introduction into France of the new theories of education with which he had become acquainted while an exile in England.

In the eighteenth century there were many attempts at more universal education, especially in England, where the condition of the laboring class, which comprised about one-sixth of the population, was wretched, wages being low, work irregular, and dire poverty general. Many charity schools were established and philanthrophic societies formed to extend this work. Such were the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, the latter of which supported schools in all the American colonies except Virginia. These societies were organized and managed by philanthrophic individuals. They encountered much opposition on the part of the upper classes, on the ground that the business of the working classes was to labor and not to think; and on the part of the lower classes, because they resented charity. This movement flourished for a while and, as mentioned above, was even extended to America, where a number of such societies were organized and schools founded; but in time interest waned, subscriptions fell off, and the movement declined.

Educational Reforms.—1. *Naturalistic Tendency.*—The chief instigator of the naturalistic movement was Rousseau (1712-1778). While better known to the students of sociology and political science through his *Social Contract,* he

had by means of his *Émile* a tremendous influence upon education. This work is divided into five books. In the first he takes the child from birth to five years of age, during which time the training should consist of physical activities. In the second, from five to twelve, or during childhood, when the training should develop the limbs and senses. In the third, from twelve to fifteen years, or during boyhood, when the training should be intellectual and should include a study of the natural sciences, stimulating the curiosity concerning nature. In the fourth, from fifteen to twenty, social and moral development is urged, for during this period the sex interests appear and should be properly guided and trained. The fifth book takes up the training of the girl. Émile is supposed to marry a type of woman that is extremely parasitic. In this work Rousseau, while inconsistent at times, is brilliant and suggestive; it entitles him to rank as an originator of the social, scientific, and psychological movements in education. He did not, however, make any immediate impression upon educators; in fact, it fell to Basedow first to put the naturalism of Rousseau into practice. He took the stand that education should be practical and should follow the methods of play. He established, with the aid of subsidies, a model school, known as the "philanthropinum," and produced several textbooks for this method. Languages were taught through conversation and games, and the sciences by equally natural methods. Industrial training was also included. The school was very successful and its methods were copied to such an extent that this type of school became a fad. Nevertheless it did much good by giving a new stimulus to education.

2. *Observation and Industrial Training—Pestalozzi* (1746-1827). The further development and practical application of the naturalistic theory of Rousseau was left to Pestalozzi to carry out. Early in life he was inspired with the desire to elevate the degraded peasantry of Europe. After meeting failure in the ministry and law, he turned his attention to education, where in a school

at Neuhof he undertook a combination of industrial and educational training, but failed in the undertaking. In 1798 he was given another opportunity to carry out his philanthrophic and industrial ideas in education. Having no assistants, books, or materials, he was obliged to instruct through observation, a method which he used in morals, arithmetic, languages, geography, and history. In another school at Burgdorf, Pestalozzi was obliged to discontinue industrial training, but here and later at Yverdon he developed his observational method to its culmination. He looked upon education as a natural development of innate powers. He believed that clear ideas could be formed only through the aid of the senses, and he tried to reduce each subject to its simplest elements and to develop it by means of graded exercises. He insisted that education should follow the psychological steps of a child's development. He sought to elevate society by means of education, and while many of his methods were unoriginal, impractical, inconsistent, lacking in science and organization, he was the real progenitor of modern pedagogy. Not only did he usher in new methods of instruction, but he started a new type of discipline, substituting friendliness and love for the brutal methods then in vogue. Because of this, his methods spread rapidly over Europe and the United States, being widely developed by his followers. The industrial and intellectual combination, which Pestalozzi was obliged to discard because of the social position of his pupils, was taken up by his friend Fellenberg (1771-1844) at Hofwyl. It was continued in industrial training schools in Europe and in the "manual training" movement in the United States, where it has been particularly developed in the Indian and Negro schools, such as Carlisle, Hampton, and Tuskegee, and also in schools for defectives and delinquents. The Pestalozzi idea is also applied in the manual training departments of our public schools and the special trade schools.

(3) *Herbart* (1776-1841) and *Froebel* (1782-1852).—Two followers of Pestalozzi, who extended and carried on to a higher development the work of their master, were

Herbart and Froebel. Each of these worked out systems of pedagogy, Herbart basing his upon his own ingenious psychology, and Froebel upon a kind of mystic philosophy. Both reproduced theories of Pestalozzi in a more logical manner. Herbart and his followers laid stress particularly upon the moral aim of education and the control of conduct through ideas. They elaborated a theory of subject matter which was based upon epochs of cultural development; they constructed a curriculum founded on correlation of studies and upon the unity of knowledge and experience. Herbart believed that the mind develops through its own experience, that by this means education can control the growth of intelligence and character, and that instruction should stimulate through ideas and experience.

Froebel laid emphasis upon self-activity as the basis and method of instruction; upon natural interests as the starting point of all education; and upon play, constructive work, and the study of nature as the chief means of teaching. He held that self-realization, or individualization, can only be achieved through the development of the social instincts. In addition, he developed the kindergarten, or school without books or tasks, and thus was the originator of the kindergarten movement, which has spread over Europe and America

Nearly all the modern tendencies in education can be traced back in some rudimentary form to Herbart or Froebel; in fact, present educational theory is largely a synthesis of Herbartian and Froebelian ideas, the latter being probably more in accord with modern thought.

American Educational Development.—*Colonial Education.*—Naturally the schools of the early colonies closely resembled those of the countries from which the colonists migrated, just as they were influenced by the prevailing religious and political ideas. The colonies which were under democratic control and in which the Calvinistic attitude prevailed made attempts at some sort of universal education, while those which were under aristocratic control and were composed of followers of the

Church of England did not favor universal education. The Calvinists favored universal education because they believed that the people should be able to read the scriptures, in order that they might be guided by the word of God. The aristocratic colonies spent more time and means upon establishing higher education than they did upon universal education. After many efforts, this resulted in the founding of William and Mary College in Virginia, in 1692, although little was done for the education of the poorer classes in Virginia and the South until many years later.

Three types of school organization developed in the colonies: (1) the *laissez faire* method as followed in Virginia and most of the southern colonies, where secondary and higher education for the upper classes was fostered, with little education, except industrial training through apprenticeship, for the orphans and children of the poor. Here education was looked upon largely as a private or family matter. (2) The parochial type as found in New Netherlands and in most of the middle colonies. (3) The governmental school system as found in Massachusetts and most of the New England colonies.

Period of Transition.—About the middle of the eighteenth century a gradual modification of educational ideals and practices began in this country, which continued until after the first quarter of the nineteenth century, when our regular public school systems had become more or less definitely worked out. In most of the Southern States, especially in Virginia, it awaited a sentiment in favor of public education. Jefferson in his time worked out an elaborate scheme of public education, by which the country was divided into small districts, each having its public elementary school. From these schools the best students were chosen to go to more advanced schools, where in turn the selective process was to continue, till the best were finally educated at public expense at William and Mary College. This scheme was never carried out, but slowly permanent school funds were established and laws passed establishing public schools. At first these met with

much opposition, both from the wealthy, who did not see why they should be taxed to support schools for other people, and from the poor, who resented this apparent charity. Then for a long time it was difficult to secure competent teachers, because graduates of colleges and academies refused to teach in the schools for the poor. But by degrees these objections were overcome and the schools increased in number and usefulness.

About 1800 New York began to make appropriations for public elementary schools, although it still neglected secondary schools. In New York City quasi-public societies, such as the "Free School Society," later called the "Public School Society," were forerunners of a system of public instruction. The new constitution adopted in Pennsylvania in 1790 made provision for the establishment of schools for the poor, but the usual method followed was to pay the tuition of poor children in private schools, till, in 1818, Philadelphia established school districts and provided schools upon the Lancastrian plan. Similar schools were established in other places, but it was not until 1834 that a state system of common schools was started, and even then it was done over much opposition. New Jersey and Delaware were even slower to follow in this movement.

In Massachusetts provision for public schools had been generous, but instead of increasing as time went on, support of education decreased. This was caused partly by the hard times and partly by the westward migration of the more enterprising. Then the control of schools was changed from the town to the school district; and many districts were either too poor or too indifferent to supply efficient teachers and equipment, and there resulted a great deal of inequality of schools. This decline became general in New England except in Rhode Island, which for the first time began to develop free public schools. In the states formed from the old Northwest Territory (now the North Central States), the sentiment for free public schools was stronger than in most of the older states. Many difficulies were in the way, such as the poverty of

the pioneers, the sparsely settled country, poor roads, and incessant Indian wars. Federal land grants, however, acted as a stimulus, and systems of public instruction came into existence about 1825. These not only included free public instruction through the elementary schools, but extended to the establishment of state universities as well, the most noted of which was the University of Michigan, which was established by the legislature of that state in 1837, and opened in 1841.

Public Education.—With the beginning of the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the democratic idea in education spread very rapidly. The older arguments against public education and the opposition to it were broken down. The unwillingness of the wealthy to be taxed to educate other people's children, and the prejudice against free public schools as pauper schools, were gradually overcome. What is known as the "common school revival" took place in New England and spread over the rest of the country. This movement for public education was aided greatly by the strenuous efforts of such able educators as James G. Carter (1795-1849), a practical educator, who advocated normal schools and secured, by means of a legislative act in Massachusetts in 1826, the establishment of town school committees and support for high schools. This law required each town of five hundred families to support a free high school. An act passed in 1837 provided for a State Board of Education. Horace Mann (1796-1859) followed Carter and advocated free and universal education for girls as well as boys, better equipped, more sanitary, and better lighted buildings, more scientific methods, trained teachers, and practical studies. He insisted that character should be the chief aim of education. Henry Barnard (1811-1900) did much to bring before the public new methods in education, especially through the *American Journal of Education,* which he began to publish at his own expense.

This awakening and growth of public sentiment was followed by a steady increase in universal education, state

support and control, supervision by local authorities, and the organization of normal schools throughout New England and the Middle States. In the Western States those settlers who came from states where public education was not fostered were convinced of the value of it by those who came from states which were in favor of public instruction; and as the West was settled, progress in educational development kept pace with the general expansion of the country. Advancement was also made in the Southern States, but this was greatly hindered by the Civil War, when all education was paralyzed for a time.

European Educational Systems.—During the past one hundred and fifty years centralized state systems have been developed in many of the European countries, which differ in many ways from the educational systems of the United States. The most important are perhaps those of Prussia, France, and England. In all these countries elementary education is now free, but only in a few cases is secondary education gratuitous, and only in France is education entirely secularized.

Prussia.—The early development of a system of universal education in Prussia was due largely to the strong line of Hohenzollern monarchs, who, while despotic and arbitrary, were advanced thinkers and had the real interests of the people at heart. This policy was begun as early as 1717 by Frederick William I, who decreed that wherever schools existed children should attend in winter, and also in summer whenever their parents could spare their services. This policy was further extended by Frederick the Great and succeeding monarchs, and was given still greater impetus by the conquest of Prussia by Napoleon, when it was realized that a centralized system was necessary.

The Prussian system of schools was complicated. The lowest were the *Volksschulen*, or people's schools, which were free and open to all. These taught the child from six to fourteen years, but did not prepare for the higher schools; in fact, the graduates of these schools were not admitted to the gymnasium, and after the third year trans-

fer was practically impossible. Thus at the age of nine the fate of the child so far as education is concerned was determined, although continuation schools were generally open to them. The Volksschulen naturally were attended mostly by the lower classes. The *Mittelschulen,* or middle schools, were for the middle classes, who could send their children to the secondary schools, but who demand better educational facilities than those afforded the common people.

After the war the German people realized that the old system was too rigid and failed to develop initiative and responsibility. Therefore in 1920 a new system was established. A common school (*Einheitsschule*) was created with a foundation school (*Grundschule*), which all children between the ages of six and ten are compelled to attend. No exception is made for normal children except the reduction of one year for those who can complete the course in three years. This school is made a foundation for every form of higher education. In it children study religion, community study, German, arithmetic, drawing, singing, gymnastics; and girls take needlework in the third and fourth years. No fixed course of study is laid down and the teachers are free to adapt to community needs. Children may continue four more years in this elementary school or may enter the *Mittelschule,* which offers a six-year course preparatory to commerce and industry. Those who pass may go on to the secondary schools. Also there is the possibility of reducing to seven years this elementary education by attending a new school, the *Auffauschule.* Stipends are also now provided for poor boys.

Prussian education has always centered in the system of secondary schools. The present system consists of four types of secondary schools. (1) The *Gymnazium,* or cultural school, which specializes in Latin and Greek. (2) The *Realgymnazium,* which retains the Latin but places greater weight on the modern languages. (3) The *Oberrealschule,* which stresses mathematics and natural science but aims to give intellectual, philosophical and scientific training and to develop clear, logical thinking, accuracy and appre-

ciation of the truth. (4) The *Deutsche Oberschule,* which emphasizes German, history, and geography, and places the material and artistic culture of the German people in the center of its cultural understanding. In these schools tuition is generally charged.

More important still is the change in the method of instruction. Instead of imparting knowledge, the aim now is to develop initiative and independence of judgment, to arouse and strengthen the will, and to do independent work. Surmounting the system of secondary schools are the universities and technical schools.

France.—The French system was developed later than the Prussian, because of the corruptness of the Bourbon monarchs, and of the social conditions which held down the lower classes. But under Napoleon a highly centralized system was developed in which secondary and higher education were united into one corporation, known as "the University of France" (1808). Under Louis Philippe the elementary schools were organized, and under the Third Republic elementary education was made free, compulsory, and secular. The secondary system consists of lycées. and communal colleges, which are considered inferior to the lycées. These generally take the children at ten and keep them till seventeen, when the bachelor's degree is conferred. At first they were only for boys, but now there are secondary schools for girls, with a course ordinarily two years shorter. They are not free, but as they are heavily subsidized by the state the tuition is small. This system was really initiated by Napoleon, who established universities, one-half of which were later suppressed. Now there are universities in fifteen of the sixteen educational divisions of France.

England.—Progress was still slower towards universal education in England, because there was neither a despotic government to establish such a system, nor a popular revolution to overcome opposition to it. Consequently national education was a slow evolution, and it was not until the close of the eighteenth century that any sentiment for universal education appeared. Then

the upper classes strove to keep education away from the lower classes; and control of the means of education was in the hands of the Church. Gradually education was extended to the masses, but it was not until 1870 that schools in charge of school boards chosen by the people (known as "board schools") were established, to fill in vacancies in the previous systems. Denominational or "voluntary" schools shared with these in receiving government grants, but they did not receive local "rates." Towards the end of the nineteenth century free tuition and compulsory attendance until the age of twelve were provided. In 1899 a Central Board of Education was established. But the secondary education was not unified until 1902. During the nineteenth century the monopoly held by the classics and the control by ecclesiastical authorities were broken, and more attention was given to modern languages and to the natural sciences. The secondary systems in England lead up to the universities at Oxford and Cambridge and the various provincial universities.

Scientific Tendency in Education.—During the past two centuries there has been an increase in the stress placed upon the natural sciences. This has been of particular importance since the middle of the nineteenth century. The movement was greatly fostered by the development of the theory of evolution, by scientific discoveries, and the practical application of their results. The theory was advanced by such eminent leaders as Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, and Elliot, that such training would not only be of vastly greater use to the average person than the older training in the classics, but would furnish as good mental discipline as well. This movement of course met with much opposition on the part of the followers of the classics, but has continually gained headway, until now science has gradually been included not only in the curriculum of the schools of higher education, but even in those of the secondary and elementary schools of Germany, France, England, and the United States.

In recent years there has been in the colleges and

universities an equally strong tendency to emphasize the importance of the social sciences, and this movement bids fair to extend to the secondary schools.

Present Tendencies.—While in the past we have made great strides in educational progress, we are not content to stop, but are progressing faster now than at almost any previous time. Because of recent industrial changes, industrial, commercial, and agricultural training has been incorporated into the school systems of Europe and the United States. In Germany and France industrial training is carried on in continuation schools, where both theory and practice are taught. In the United States training of this sort began in evening schools and was later carried on in day schools, both public and private. It has now become an important part of our secondary school system. It is also carried on in schools especially designed for this work. In Germany commercial subjects are taught in private continuation schools and in secondary and university courses.

Until recently the study of commerce was much neglected in both France and England, but in recent years England has remedied this defect. In America this study has been carried on chiefly in "business colleges" and in courses in secondary schools and colleges. Advanced work in business training is now being given by our leading colleges and universities in departments or schools of business administration.

In Germany and France much has been done in agricultural training in an introductory way. The United States probably leads all countries in the establishment and perfection of special agricultural schools. Land grant acts by Congress did much for the establishment of agricultural colleges. Agricultural work is also being extended to our high schools, and the latest development of this movement has taken the form of special agricultural high schools.

During the last few years Europe has paid a great deal of attention to moral training, and this subject is attracting considerable attention in the United States, largely

because of the rapidly developing impersonal relationships in our business life.

While the evolution of education has been largely due to the development of the spirit of individualization, recent tendencies have modified the educational systems so as to make them more useful to society, and at the same time preserve the growth of individualism. In this way education is striving to be more useful to both the individual and society; it aims not only to train the individual to become part of the social fabric, but also to enable society to do more for the individual. Schools have been developed for the training of defectives, for the blind, the deaf, the dull, the truant, and even for those possessing such peculiarities as stammering and for those afflicted with tuberculosis. Instead of forcing those who are handicapped into the regular schools we now establish special schools for them. More and more attention is being paid to school hygiene and care for the health of the pupils; to the improvement of school architecture; and to making teachers more efficient by giving greater consideration to the profession. Experiments recently carried on by such men as Dewey in his experimental school at the University of Chicago and by the now famous Gary school plan, are bringing about a more effective use of the school plant. The school is made more attractive and useful by means of rotation and variation of school activities. Surveys and experiments are constantly being made, and our whole educational system is being overhauled and reorganized so that it may become more efficient and useful to society.

A recent movement in education is towards individualization or the attempt to be of greater service to the individual student. The rapid growth of our cities has caused an enormous increase in the number of pupils in our city schools. This has too often caused our school systems to degenerate into vast machines for grinding out pupils with a given amount of polish and information. While the majority of the students were probably very well served and special classes took care of the defective and delinquent, the erratic and talented suffered. While

this number is of course much smaller than the average or even the defective and delinquent classes, this group is the one which has the potentiality of greatness and for that reason deserves the best of educational opportunities. If our schools do not serve them as they should there is a distinct loss to society. Now attempts are being made to be of greater service to the brilliant and peculiar students. One modern method is the Dalton plan, which adapts the work to the individual student, thus enabling students to progress according to their ability. This system requires trained and capable teachers, a condition often lacking, and requires painstaking work from teachers and administrators, but it offers much promise.

Education outside of regular school-room classes and buildings is now being carried on in our extension departments, particularly of our agricultural colleges. This method of education has been remarkably successful in Denmark and is now meeting with approval in the United States. While many object to it because it lacks the usual standardization, it is being rapidly extended. Extension work must be adapted to the needs of the various groups and cannot always follow regular scholastic lines. The students in these classes are generally more eager and sincere for they have usually felt the need of education and know more or less what they need and want. Extension classes enable older people to continue their education after leaving school and permits those who have been unable to attend college and similar schools to make up this lack to some degree and to supplement their previous training. By special classes they can satisfy some special need or demand, such as training for dairying, poultry husbandry, and salesmanship. The large enrollment in the extension departments of some of our schools indicates the demand for such instruction. Many predict a still greater extension in this line.

Possibly the most important trend in modern education is the social one. When the different social sciences, particularly sociology, were introduced into our colleges and universities they were looked upon with suspicion and

disfavor. Many restrictions were placed upon students taking such courses. Not only were these courses left out of the required lists, but the curriculums were so arranged that often only a few could take them. The teachers were watched lest they instil radical ideas in the minds of their students. Many objections were made by vested interests, those whose profits or incomes were affected by investigations into the causes of poverty, crime and similar problems. Also those who were fixed in their beliefs, or whose ideas in regard to social matters were ossified, often became alarmed and antagonistic, sometimes with the best of intentions and the most sincere motives. As a result reactions and backward steps have often occurred. Teachers have frequently moved and departments have often been curtailed. But the movement has spread by leaps and bounds. These subjects have become established in practically all our leading colleges and are now rapidly filtering down into our secondary schools. Senior and Junior High schools and even the lower grades are now teaching the social sciences. This is, of course, done in a diluted and carefully guarded manner. Such courses are generally labeled "Civics," "Citizenship," "Americanization," and the like. But the drift is to put into them what was once taught in sociology and similar courses in college.

The reason for this downward drift of the social sciences is the realization that if we ever expect to solve our social problems, such as poverty, crime, vice, divorce, intemperance and feeble-mindedness, we must know the facts about them and understand their importance; that if we want our future citizens to be the right kind of citizens we must educate them in that direction. We are also realizing that while it is all right to train for practical work and turn out efficient engineers, mechanics, and professional persons we must go further than this. We must instil the traditions and social heritage of the past if we expect them to respect such traditions and customs. We must go even further than this. We must teach students to think for themselves, to solve their own problems as

they arise. We are beginning to realize that education is not merely a memory process; that to be efficient students must learn to think and act. We must train the youth of the nation in government if we are to free ourselves from the control of grafters and corrupt politicians. We must master economics if we are to grapple efficiently with our problems of capital and labor. We must know sociology before we can expect to understand life and learn to live successfully and efficiently from the standpoint of society rather than just individual success. We do not inherit good citizenship any more than we inherit engineering skill, and the sooner we realize this the better. This phase of education has in the past been greatly neglected, in fact, almost ignored entirely, but we must not neglect it any longer. It is this realization which is putting sociology and the other social sciences into our curriculums and causing these sciences to be so popular with student bodies. This movement is spreading not merely by means of these particular sciences, but the social idea has also pervaded other fields of study as well, particularly religion, education, psychology, and even such every-day subjects as geography and hygiene.

The social sciences, particularly sociology, are new sciences and are not as well developed as our older sciences, such as chemistry and biology. Much investigation must be made and careful research work must be carried out. This research is difficult, far more difficult, in fact, than chemical or biological research for we cannot experiment with human beings and cannot isolate and control social factors the way we can physical ones. Nevertheless we must carry on such research. We must also train our leaders, such as teachers, ministers, doctors and lawyers, in social responsibility and this can only be done by the extension and further development of our social sciences, particularly sociology. So this recent trend towards the social sciences offers much of promise in the way of a higher and more successful civilization. In mechanical invention, scientific discovery and material civilization we have made far greater progress than we

have in our social thinking, the improvement of our social institutions and cultural development. We can only make up this deficiency by a greater stress on our social sciences. In this field we will probably see our greatest development in the future.

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Part V

ANALYSIS OF SOCIETY

CHAPTER XVII

INSTINCTS, FEELING, AND INTELLECT

In order to get an idea of how society is made up we must study the forces that control society and the motives that prompt man to act. Before we do this, it is necessary to consider what kind of a being man is. It is with this phase of the subject that the present chapter deals. While man began as an animal among animals, he was a superior one, being endowed with physical, mental and moral faculties not enjoyed by other members of the animal kingdom. In many ways, especially in strength, speed, and endurance, he was easily excelled by many animals whom he nevertheless conquered because of his superior mentality. Man has at least four great advantages over his animal neighbors. The first of these is his upright position. This not only permits him to see farther, run faster and change his position easier in case of attack or defense, but it also frees his hands. This permits him to manipulate nature and develop techniques. These hands are his second great advantage and they in turn depended on the development of his third outstanding difference, his superior brain, for such development was necessary in order to direct these hands. The fourth great advantage is his vocal apparatus, which has enabled him to develop a speaking language, which in turn led to the invention of a written language. With such advantages man has not only been able to cope with and become master of his environment but they have enabled him to progress and produce human society.

While in this work we shall make no pretense to a psychological analysis of man or even a study of his mental machinery, we must consider the psychological side of sociology and try to identify the impulses that prompt

man to dominate and weigh the forces that control his action. While man is controlled largely by his environment, which we have previously considered, that is not all, for he inherits characteristics which to a great extent determine his behavior. This is true not only of the individual but of mankind in general.

Instincts.—One of the sharpest controversies in the field of social psychology in recent years has been in regard to whether man, like other members of the animal kingdom, has instincts, which control or influence his actions. By instinct is meant something that is inherited, which does not have to be learned. Yet a distinction is recognized between instincts, reflexes and tropisms, although this difference is largely one of degree and is often hard to define. An instinct is a faculty to act in such a way as to produce certain ends without foresight or previous training or education. It is a sort of hereditary pattern action. A reflex is a sort of prompt muscular reaction, such as the knee jerk or the winking of the eye. An instinct is looked upon as more of a persistent sort of inherited or innate tendency to act. A reflex is the simple response to stimuli.

Some psychologists, most notably Professor McDougall, have contended that instincts are chiefly, if not solely, the sources of human motives, or the main springs of human action. Some have even gone so far as to ascribe human actions as going back chiefly to some one instinct, such as the "herd instinct," the "sex instinct," or the "instinct to possess." Opposed to this extreme viewpoint is that of a more recent group, who would throw overboard the whole instinct hypothesis and replace it with that of "habit." Professor Bernard divides habits into three different classes or types: "(1) those which are primarily organic and overt, not involving awareness and memory; (2) those that involve the overt organic adjustment with a developing neuro-psychic mechanism depending on conditioned associations and reinstatement mechanisms, that is, those which are both overt and internal in their mediation; and (3) those which are internal and

conscious primarily (although there need not be self-consciousness in such cases) and which have but a small overt activity content or correlation.''[1] A third group of scientists, which now includes the bulk of the sociologists and social psychologists, takes a middle ground position. This school, while not finding or assuming pure instincts in human behavior, equally refuses to ascribe everything to habit. Instead of pure instincts it accepts only instinctive tendencies; assuming that when these tendencies come into contact with social environment or culture habit, complexes are formed and built up through experience. This whole controversy is a revival of the old question of heredity versus environment, and the generally accepted position here is the same as has been accepted by sociologists for some time, namely, that neither dominates to the exclusion of the other, that heredity, in this case instinct, is merely one factor in determining man's social behavior. However, in order to present any sort of fair statement of the subject these three different positions must be considered, to some extent at least.

According to the first group, society would be inert and lifeless without instincts. They contend that man has instincts the same as animals, only in a different degree. They are there but are not as strong or as important. But instincts must not be looked upon as incapable of modification, for even animal instincts may be trained. Also instincts must have stimuli to develop them, and they are conditioned to a large extent by these stimuli. Instincts do not necessarily exclude consciousness and intellect, for both are often present, serving to guide the instincts. Human instincts are not as hard and fast as those of the lower animals, but are more or less generalized tendencies to act, thus enabling man to better cope with his environment, furnishing a starting point for mental and social life, and supplying a basis for habits. Almost every human instinct has its parallel or counterpart in animal life.

[1] Bernard, L. L., *Instinct*, p. 98 (Holt, 1924).

According to this school of psychologists, the following groups of instincts must be recognized.

Food Instinct.—In common with other members of the animal kingdom man has the instinct to obtain nourishment for himself. This is clearly seen in the infant, for it does not have to be taught to nurse, but merely needs to be put into contact with its mother's breast. While subject to instruction and direction, the same impulse operates throughout life in the effort to obtain food. In the early history of man it results in the gathering of roots, fruits, nuts, and shellfish, and later in the activities of hunting and fishing. This impulse is sharpened by the pangs of hunger and encouraged by the physical satisfaction given by the consumption of food. It is purely an animal instinct, although with man it is under greater control than with the animals. With further development it takes the form of impulse to work, so as to insure a supply of food the year round. Thus it is at the basis of the food interest of man and to a large extent of the motives that prompt our economic and industrial activity. It also leads to storing of food and thus stimulates invention. On the other hand, it produces perversities such as stealing, begging, and the exploitation of others by means of slavery, serfdom, low wages, and similar means.

Instincts Connected with Reproduction.—Another impulse that man has in common with his animal neighbors is the instinct to continue the race. It is stronger in the male than in the female. Also under this heading there come two great primary instincts—sex attraction, and parental love. These are vitally connected and include many deviations and variations. Out of these have grown sexual love and family affection and upon them we have built our institution of the family and the various forms of marriage, and our care of aged parents and the weaker members of the family. From the care of the children develops sympathy, which is the basis of altruism. While animals, noticeably the higher animals, have affection for the offspring, exhibited especially by the mother, it dies out much quicker than with man and is generally limited

in time to the period ending with the arrival of the next young. The lower we go in the animal scale, the larger we find the number of offspring to be, as a rule, and the greater the decrease of this impulse; so it is only natural that man who has fewer offspring than almost any animal, should exhibit this impulse in a stronger manner than the animals. The reproductive instinct in itself is not so regular, and is under greater control with man than with the animals because of man's superior intellect and powers of control. By means of conscious direction and control these instincts of man have led to the development of man's loftiest impulses and to some of his greatest and most uplifting institutions and achievements.

Instinct of Self-Preservation.—The food, reproductive, and self-preservatory impulses may be called the primary impulses of man, being common to both man and animals. The third mentioned is an instinct of man to avoid danger, either to fly from its presence or to keep out of its reach. This has been necessary to man's very existence, especially during the infancy of the race, when man was poorly equipped to combat the dangers besetting him. The child must also have the fear instinct, in order to live when outside the protection of its parents. It causes fear or terror at sight of danger, flight or concealment from that danger, and later the knack of keeping out of its way. Man is equipped with nerves which warn him through pain of danger to his body, such as danger from cold, excessive heat, bruising or tearing of the body; and the mind is equipped with memory to tell him to avoid these dangers in the future. Man's sensory organs, while in many ways inferior to those of animals, enable him to perceive approaching danger. The child exhibits this instinct of fear in the presence of the unfamiliar or unusual, often indeed when its intelligence tells it that there is no real danger. The instinct of fear haunts man, and while it often saves his life, it prevents him at times from achieving what he otherwise might; and because of this it is an impulse that man wishes to conceal or overcome. With the greater protection afforded by society its utility diminishes. This instinct has

been one of the motive forces of invention; akin to it is our next class.

Instinct of Pugnacity and Resentment.—The impulse to attack or to resent attack is not so universal as that of fear, being in fact quite weak among females of some species. It is much stronger in some people than in others, and is generally much more pronounced among males than females. While the instinct for fighting is used for defense, it also prompts offense and even oppression of others. Its use is strengthened by other instincts, such as that of acquisition; but it is the direct inspiration to warfare and conquest, and without it these would be very difficult. By means of it the strongest have survived and the best elements have been preserved, and races having it more than others have advanced and progressed, while those lacking it have been exterminated or overrun.

The impulse of resentment comes into evidence when any attempt is made upon the rights of a person; the one injured or molested shows his resentment in the emotion of anger. Without the instinct of pugnacity or resentment anger would be impossible. As society progresses, we control the emotions of anger more and more, priding ourselves upon our control rather than upon our resentment. This instinct has been very useful to man, although when allowed to run to excess it has been the cause of endless injustices, misery, and destruction. When properly controlled this instinct is very valuable to man, for it inspires him to conquer and succeed. Without it one is destined to serve rather than to lead.

Closely connected with, and possibly belonging to the same class of instincts as pugnacity and resentment, are those of *rivalry* and *emulation*. These are coming into much greater development and use; they work towards the same ends as the anger and fighting instinct. The sentiment of jealousy is related to that of resentment, generally carrying with it some recognition of weakness, or admission that some one else has or is enjoying something which is desired for one's self, whether it be the caress given the child, a piece of candy, or the beautiful wife of

another. It is a feeling of resentment against the success of another person. While generally condemned and as far as possible held in restraint, it, too, is often a mainspring of action. It is frequently the motive of injustice and crime.

Instinct of Sociability.—In spite of his tendency to fight, and notwithstanding the influence of his struggles upon the progress of civilization, man has an innate craving for companionship. Professor Giddings has built up an extremely complicated and interesting system of sociology upon this one tendency of man. Not only is one person attracted to another, but he is attracted especially by the same kind of person. This impulse was important in the early history of man, for it resulted in alliances for the sake of protection and of making a living. As we shall find in our next chapter, the sociability interest is also strong in society to-day and is the basis of much of our companionship. Few of us care to be alone for any length of time; we crave companionship, we want some one to whom we may communicate our feelings, thoughts, and desires. This gregarious impulse is interwoven with many of our activities. It is one of the factors in the growth of cities and in the formation of groups. Out of it develops loyalty to the group, which results in the spirit of patriotism. Love of the praise or approval of others is a phase of it. Desire to show off or attract attention is simply an expression of this instinct or group of instincts. While not the most fundamental instinct, it is one of the most important factors in the life of society.

Instinct of Possession.—Another innate tendency or impulse of man is to possess objects which are useful to him, objects that he desires. This probably manifested itself first in the possession of, or claim to, a mate. Later it was extended to weapons, tools, and all other forms of wealth. This is an instinct which has played a powerful rôle in the history of mankind, for it has motivated wars, migrations, invasions; it has caused man to labor and to compel others to labor for him; it has built up industry; it has in fact entered into every phase of man's existence. It is generally coupled with other impulses, such as the food

instinct, and as a social factor frequently is supplemented by other desires.

Instinct of Construction.—Every child wants to build or make something. With his blocks he constructs buildings, roads, towers, and bridges. With dirt he makes mud pies, and with sticks he devises playthings. The Kaffir child of four will make intricate bird traps. In short, it is an innate impulse of man to make things. It is this instinct which underlies invention. The need of something, joined with the impulse to make, caused the invention to be achieved, not suddenly, of course, but by various steps.

Instinct of Imitation.—As soon as man sees something which he considers good, he immediately starts to imitate it, whether it be language, a weapon, a method of cooking, a trick in hunting or fishing, a tool, a strategy in war, an article of ornament, a dance, a song, a religious belief, a form of government, or in fact any achievement or institution whatever. The child exhibits this impulse as soon as it is capable of appreciating the desirability of things. We see this instinct in operation in regard to styles, particularly in regard to clothing; it operates also in all phases of our daily life, in cooking, eating, social habits, forms of speech, selection of furniture, in the spread of fads and in all other phases of life. So strong is this impulse that Professor Tarde attempted to build a whole system of sociology upon it, in much the same manner that Professor Giddings based his system on the sociability instinct. While without question a strong impulse, it is by no means the key to all social activity.

Instincts of Self-Assertion and Self-Abasement.—Both of these instincts are conspicuous in the animal world, the male strutting around, showing off his plumage or marks of physical adornment, before his mates. The smaller and weaker animal has the opposite impulse and slinks away, trying to avoid observation, thus abasing itself in recognition of the superiority of another. The child exhibits the same impulses. As soon as the baby acquires a new art or trick, such as walking, or jumping over some little object, it desires the approbation of others and is displeased if

this is not shown. As it grows older, it exhibits the same traits when it calls to its playmates to see it do this or that.

Pride is a strong factor in life; it is the cause of boasting and vanity; the impulse motivates, to a large extent, the wearing of fashionable clothing and ornament, whether it be a silk dress or a bark loin cloth, a pearl necklace or a brass nose ring. It is the instinct of pride which causes some people to assume an air of superiority, whether there is any ground for it or not. It is the opposite instinct that causes others to exhibit an attitude of deference to those regarded as their superiors. The child displays this same tendency, shrinking from a stranger even when it does not fear him. In this impulse we may find the rudiments of shame, which, however, is not considered an innate tendency, but one which is developed through experience. These two instincts are never outlived; they are found in all ages, situations, and conditions of life. While minor factors, they have constantly played their part in man's development.

Closely akin to them are the instincts of *repulsion* and *disgust,* which are aroused by the sight of a snake or anything that is considered loathsome. These are opposed to the impulse of sociability.

Reference should also be made to the instincts of *wonder* and *curiosity,* which cause man to attempt to find out things, and thus lead him to acquire information and knowledge.

Habits.—In our chapter on "cultural forces" we considered the force of habit in the building up of our institutions and how in this manner it became a social force. In a later chapter we shall again treat habit as a means of social control. Here we will consider the nature of habit, how it originates, and what part it plays in the make-up of the individual and particularly what connection it has with instinctive tendencies.

Habits, as opposed to instincts, are not inherited but are acquired. They are built up as the products of experience. They develop as result of the demands to make adjustments to new situations. But they cannot develop out of nothing.

Habits are complex behavior patterns. They are built out of random movements, reflexes, instincts and simpler or previously formed habits. Man might even be said to be a creature of habits. As Professor Bernard expresses it, "He possesses relatively few unmodified instinctive behavior patterns, and these are for the most part the simpler forms of instinct, or reflexes, which may be easily combined into acquired behavior patterns without losing their identity by being broken up." [2]

The habits of animals are comparatively simple. Some animals can be trained by man to do complex and intricate things, but naturally most of their responses are instinctive. This characteristic becomes more prominent as we go down in the animal scale, the lowest animals depending almost entirely upon instinct. The higher animals depend more upon habits, and the higher we rise, the greater the dependence; but even here the habits of these animals differ from the habits of man. Man is able to develop delicate and intricate muscular reactions. These can be especially noticed in the work of such skilled athletes as the baseball player, the boxer, wrestler and football player. These habits carry on at times when the mind has ceased to function as on the occasion of an injury or severe blow. But man has developed even more remarkable mental and cultural habits.

So early are some of these habits acquired and so fundamental and closely wrapped up with human nature are they, that many of them have at times been mistaken for instincts or confused with them. Also as a result of their early development some phychologists have accepted them as the foundation of behavior in the place of instincts. They have at times attempted to trace the more elementary habits back directly to the reflexes and tropisms, thus ruling out completely the whole concept of instincts. While such a position is an extreme one and now not generally accepted, such a interpretation explains many of the former so-called

[2] Bernard, L. L., in Davis, J., Barnes, H. E., and others, *Introduction to Sociology,* p. 402 (Heath, 1927).

instincts, such as pugnacity, self-assertion, self-display, self-abasement and disgust. While the analysis of habits may explain and overthrow much of our former belief in instincts the present drift among both sociologists and psychologists, as previously stated, is not to go to this extreme but to adopt instead a sort of middle ground position.

Instinctive Tendencies.—According to this conception, instinctive tendencies or impulses are the raw material out of which habits are formed. It is now being recognized that instead of a small number of sharply defined instincts man has hundreds or even thousands of processes, such as reflexes, tropisms, etc., and that these are what underlie habits. When confronted with an environmental situation these more minute processes act but, being minute, they are covered up in the resulting act. Therefore it is impossible to single out any one form of behavior and say that it is due to some one instinct. There are instinctive tendencies which act but they are minute and elementary, yet out of these we build habits. This position is well stated in the language of Professor Ellwood:

> The matter will become simpler, perhaps, if we remember that the hereditary level of behavior is made up apparently of three subordinate levels: first the chemo-tropic, or the reactions of simple and relatively undifferentiated tissue to chemical or physical stimuli; second, the reflex, or fixed, relatively unconscious reactions of inherited automatic action structures, such as the instincts of the insects; and third, native impulses or instinctive tendencies made up of chains or series of purposeful reflexes exceedingly variable and modifiable. The so-called instincts of man are of this latter type. They are accordingly not fixed and unalterable, but are subject to intelligent modification according to the changes in the environment. They are little more than a complex series of a more or less generalized inherited tendencies which fit man to cope with his environment fairly well from the start, but the most important function of which is to form a basis for the development of habit, character, and intelligence.[3]

[3] Ellwood, Charles A., *The Psychology of Human Society*, p. 281 (Appleton, 1925).

Play.—While hardly an instinct, play must be treated as a tendency of the mind which performs an important function in the social life of man. Many people have attempted to explain play by means of some single theory, but like most phases of social activity it has more than one origin and explanation. Schiller ascribed play to the expression of one's surplus energy. While undoubtedly a cause or explanation of a great deal of play, especially of young children, we cannot give this theory the importance placed upon it by Herbert Spencer. It is true that a person is most inclined to play when well nourished and free from exhaustion, but the same person may play until utterly exhausted, as in a football game or tennis match. Others maintain that in his play the child retraces the periods passed through by his ancestors, engaging in games of hunting, playing with animals, etc., thus representing the different stages of progress. This theory is not widely accepted to-day. Groos [4] put forward a theory that play serves as a preparation for the serious business of life; that the kitten chases the ball over the floor, in preparation for the more serious chasing of the mouse in later life; that the child in his play prepares itself for the work of life, the girl playing with dolls, making mud pies, and imitating the work of her mother, and the boy imitating that of his father by playing horse, building houses, etc.

While this undoubtedly is a valid explanation of a great deal of play during early youth, when the child is under the impulse to imitate its elders, it does not explain all play. It does not take into consideration the elements of emulation and rivalry, which exert such an important influence in our modern games, such as baseball, tennis, basketball, hockey, and football; or such sports as boxing, wrestling, running, and swimming; or even such quiet games as chess, checkers, and cards. In fact, one's activities are too complex and varied to be explained by any one factor, and furthermore no real line can be drawn between work and play. To many their life occupation is simply

[4] Groos, Karl, *The Play of Animals* and *The Play of Man* (Appleton, 1901).

a game, in which the spirit of emulation and rivalry is as strong as on the athletic field.

The spirit of play is much more highly developed among some peoples than among others, being very extensively cultivated among the European races; of these peoples the English and their descendants take the lead. The Orientals cannot see why Europeans or Americans exert themselves upon the tennis court, football field, or baseball diamond, asking if it would not be possible to hire coolies to do that work. The spirit of play can, however, be developed; for the Chinese and Japanese are rapidly adopting our games, especially baseball and tennis. Play gives a chance to exercise the primitive instincts and motives, and to develop individuality. In past times this impulse was discouraged, but to-day we are almost going to the opposite extreme by giving it too great a freedom. It does afford an excellent opportunity to train the child and to develop needed qualities, such as self-control and sportsmanship, as well as to build up a physique for life's battles. The child who cannot play, being deprived of playmates or opportunity to exercise this innate tendency, is sorely handicapped for life. So important is the spirit of play, that it is being utilized more and more by our school systems, its educational values being almost unlimited. It is one of those normal tendencies which must be directed and controlled; if wisely utilized, it is one of the most important gifts with which man has been endowed.

While instinctive tendencies are present as motive forces in practically all human beings, they vary greatly in degree, some being much stronger in one individual than in another. This is one of the causes of the greater ability and success of certain persons compared with that of others. They differ also between the sexes: the female, being endowed with stronger sympathetic and social impulses, is guided more by impulse and emotion than is the male. On the other hand, the male has the combative or pugnacious impulse to a much higher degree than the female. Sometimes the male is referred to as being katabolic, or inclined to expend energy, being more active;

while the female is anabolic, or inclined to store up energy, being more passive and conservative.

While we must recognize this as an innate difference, we must remember also that social conditions have emphasized it. Society has hedged woman about with restrictions, and she therefore has not had an equal chance with man for development, either mentally or physically. Woman's inferior physique to-day is to a great extent the result of social conditions, for custom and habit have prevented her from developing her muscles. Her activity has been restricted by skirts, corsets, and high-heeled shoes, and her health has often been ruined by disregard of the rules of health. While neither sex can be said to be superior mentally, there is undoubtedly a mental difference between the male and the female, although not to such a marked degree as in the case of the physical. As we have pointed out in another chapter, we cannot claim mental supremacy for one race over another. Similarly, while the sexes differ in innate characteristics, we cannot claim superiority for either sex.

Although instinctive tendencies are more important with primitive man than with civilized man (because civilization is able to train and educate man, so that he is less dependent upon innate impulses), they cannot be ignored in an analysis of present-day society. While under the conditions of modern civilization they are so overlaid and covered up with habits, customs and traditions that they are hardly discernible, they are nevertheless there underneath habits. But under modern conditions they alone are not safe guides; they must be supplemented and controlled by reason and intelligence. While education does not supplant them, it organizes them and increases their usefulness. Ellwood sums up their usefulness as follows:[5]

> The native impulses are, then, from the psychological point of view the basis of man's social life. Representing the innate or the biological element in the relationships of individuals, they are necessarily the raw material out of which the social life is

[5] Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, pp. 245–6 (Appleton, 1912).

developed. They are the psychological expression of the biological forces of selection and heredity as these latter well up in the social life at any particular moment. While they furnish only the beginnings of social organization, that is, only certain simpler co-ordinations between individuals, it is their modification by feeling and intelligence, functioning with respect to environment, which produces the acquired habits out of which all higher forms of social co-ordination and social organization must issue. Concealed beneath these acquired modes of behavior or conduct in the individual and in society, behind them all, are always the various instinctive impulses. As they represent the original motor activities, they may well be characterized, therefore, as the real propelling forces of society, since the feelings and emotions, as has been already pointed out, do not lie behind these activities but rather accompany them. The physiological impulses, then, which when viewed from the psychological side, we term instincts, are the true primary forces of human society, the ultimate springs of all activity; and the guidance and control through the education of the individual and the organization of social relationships between individuals, that is, their control through reason, is the ultimate practical problem of human social life.

Thomas's "Four Wishes." [6]—In this connection might be mentioned Thomas's four wishes, to which he endeavors to reduce all attitudinal behavior. These are: (1) the desire for new experience, (2) the desire for security, (3) the desire for recognition, and (4) the desire for response. Any such attempt of course is open to criticism and this classification, while just now being much quoted and given much prominence by some, bids fair to share the fate of similar attempts. It is, however, interesting and suggestive.

Feeling.—Feeling is another element of human nature which has been either neglected or exaggerated by the sociologist. It is closely allied with instinct and forms a sort of connecting link between instinct and intellect. It is shared, although in differing degrees, by both man and animals. Professor Ward [7] treats feeling as the dynamic agent of society, believing that it resulted from life and

[6] See Thomas, W. I., and Znaniecki, F., *The Polish Peasant*, Introduction (Badger, 1918).

[7] Ward, Lester F., *Pure Sociology*, Chap. VI (Macmillan, 1903).

that intellect developed from feeling. He postulates that feeling is the true propelling force for both animals and man. He places a very broad interpretation upon feeling, however, treating it as identical with desire, as embracing all wants, volitions, and aspirations. In short, he treats feeling as synonymous with desire—an interpretation that is entirely too broad. Feelings are sometimes called the emotional side of instinct, and it is in such a conception of feeling that sociology is particularly interested. Man is more or less an emotional creature. He is subject to, and affected constantly in his every-day actions by, such emotions, as joy, envy, admiration, gratitude, reverence, loathing, scorn, reproach, jealousy, revenge, shame, bashfulness, pity, happiness, and sorrow. While feeling is not the primary factor or the chief end in life, it is an element which must be recognized as affecting human action. Says Professor Ellwood:

> Feeling is, then, a powerful factor in determining the coadaptation of individuals to one another in society. Feeling attitudes of individuals towards each other not only express the relation of their habitual activities, but also continually modify these activities. While in the main feeling is a somewhat conservative and passive influence in society, yet on account of its subjective and individual character it continually brings to bear an individualizing influence upon all social activities. Feeling is, therefore, an active as well as a passive factor in the social life. On the individual side it is continually modifying activity, both in conscious and unconscious ways. Feeling must, therefore, be taken into account, not only in any theoretical interpretation of the social life, but in all practical measures for modifying or controlling social activities. While not a primary force in society, feeling presents itself as an important secondary force.[8]

Feeling and emotion have for a long time been exploited by orators, politicians, ministers, and social leaders in general. They are now being taken into consideration by scientists themselves. They must not be neglected when any social activity is undertaken if success in that undertaking is to be expected. All persons have feelings and

[8] Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology in Its Psychological Aspects*, p. 259 (Appleton, 1912).

emotions, these varying only in degrees and the way in which they are held in restraint. Then the bulk of persons rely upon them more than they do upon intellect for the basis of their actions. So they really do play a larger part in mass control than does pure reasoning. This will be noticed further in our chapter on "Social Control."

Intellect.—It is the possession of mind power which has been the determining factor in man's progress, as compared with his animal neighbors. We find that the members of the animal world are equipped with instincts and feelings, although in a manner slightly different from that of man. Animals are likewise equipped with the senses, keener for the most part than those of man, and many of the animals excel him in strength and speed. But when it comes to intellect he stands alone, and it is because of this attribute that he has conquered nature and has changed his environment instead of allowing himself to be changed by it. Intellect plays the deciding rôle in the battle of life. Professor Ward attempts to show how intellect developed from feeling;[9] but the question of origin lies outside the field of sociology, for man possessed intellect long before sociology takes up the study of him and his institutions. The earliest men were equipped with intellectual powers. It is intellect that guides and directs the feelings and instincts, for without it they are not capable of lifting man above the animal world. The key to man's behavior does not lie in his environment, but in his mental make-up. It is intellect that puts values upon activities and then determines actions. What this decision shall be depends upon what the intellect considers to be of the greatest value. It carries out the suggestions of the instincts and satisfies the cravings of the feelings, but it also modifies and at times even vetoes their suggestions. It is to the intellect that both instincts and feelings go for commands. But because it generally listens to instinct and feeling, the ideas are colored and influenced by them.

Invention and discovery are made possible by intellect,

[9] Ward, Lester F., *Pure Sociology*, p. 119–124 (Macmillan, 1903).

for it is intellect that sees the need and the opportunity and brings them together. Without intellect, material progress would have been impossible and man would have remained an animal among animals, if not actually exterminated. Civilization has simply been the accumulation of ideas, the piling up of inventions and discoveries, and the passing on to future generations of the wisdom of the past. An idea is precious and new ideas are rare things; it is very seldom that a new idea or invention is added to civilization. In general we only imitate or repeat the past experience, slowly improving upon it by adding a bit here and a bit there. Most of the things that we learn are really discoveries of the past. Social ideals are also the results of intellect, being the valuations placed by intellect upon acts or activities of mankind.

We have taken up in this chapter, as a starting point in our analysis of society, the study of man's social equipment; they will enable us the better to analyze man's actions and the workings of society. It will also give us an introduction to our study of social interests and the forces and institutions that control society.

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CHAPTER XVIII

SOCIAL INTERESTS

By social interests we mean the motives which cause people to act, and the lines of activity which they follow. We do certain things; we get up in the morning, dress, eat breakfast, and rush to our work at the office, store, or factory; with the exception of a lunch hour we work all day; we come home at night, eat dinner, and spend the evening at home in reading, playing cards, or just resting, or perhaps go to the moving picture show, theater or opera according to our likes and means. On Saturday afternoon we may go to a ball game, and on Sunday drive to the park or to church in the morning, and sleep or go to the ball game in the afternoon. Why do we do such things? Why de wo go to the theater or to the ball game? Why do we eat three times a day, and sleep eight hours a night? Why do we spend so many years in the schoolroom, often to the detriment of our health? Why do we risk life and limb in dangerous sports like polo or football? Why do we spend our lives working to buy houses, clothes, food, theater tickets, flowers, books, magazines, automobiles, or yachts, when we could get along and live just as long without most of these things? Why do we spend our lifetimes in building up industries, fortunes, or institutions, which we ourselves seldom have time to enjoy? Why do we spend our lives writing books which few will read, or working in the laboratory making experiments the results of which few care about, or teaching in college theories which will be of little practical value? We do such things because we want to. But why do we want to? Because there are interests in society which stimulate us to do them. It is with such stimuli that this chapter will deal.

Many of these stimuli or interests, like the desire for

food, grow directly out of our instinctive impulses, but many of them, such as the desire to see a ball game or to go to the opera, are cultural products of society, although such interests may be indirect outgrowths of instinctive impulses. The intellect plays its part in shaping these interests, modifying and adapting the instinctive impulses. Many sociologists do not distinguish between social forces and social interests, but treat them all together, either under one heading or the other. But social forces include the influences, such as the geographical environment, which help or hinder man in his pursuits; and hereditary traits, which limit his achievements and largely determine his social environment, healthful or unhealthful, *e. g.*, home influences, religious control, and housing conditions.

Forces may be either external or internal, objective or subjective; while interests are more subjective, or within one's own consciousness. In previous chapters we have considered the influence of geographic, biological and cultural forces upon population; now we take up the interests that prompt man in his social activities. In our next chapter we shall consider the control of man by means of the institutions created by him. These institutions develop directly through the interests, in much the same way that the interests are the product of the instincts, feelings, and intellect.

Many sociologists have tried to classify and arrange the forces or interests in more or less definite tables, with varying degrees of success.[1] While all these classifications

[1] The most important of these classifications are those of Ward, treated as social forces, found in *Pure Sociology,* p. 261; Ratzenhofer, treated as interests, found in *Sociologische Erkenntniss,* pp. 54–66, and Small's *General Sociology,* p. 252; Stuckenberg, called forces, *Sociology,* Vol. I, p. 207; Small, treated as interests, discussed in *General Sociology,* pp. 443–467, and *The American Journal of Sociology,* Vol. VI, pp. 177–199; Ross, treated as social forces, in *Foundations of Sociology,* p. 169. They are omitted from this volume because of the lack of space and because the average student finds many classifications more confusing than instructive. So in this text no use will be made of these schemes and no attempt will be made to classify the social forces for the simple reason that no really satisfactory classification can be made. The interests are too complex and too intricately interwoven to allow separation and arbi-

are extremely suggestive and worthy of study, no one arrangement is wholly satisfactory. The simplest and possibly the most suggestive, although at the same time probably the most severely criticized, is that of Professor Small, who classifies interests under the headings of health, wealth, sociability, knowledge, beauty, and rightness. But such a classification will of course not include all interests of society. In this book interests will be arranged according to groups, not because the arrangement given shows the order of importance or is the only type of arrangement possible, but simply because some classification should be adopted. No attempt will be made to include all social interests or to show the various relationships of these interests. The aim will be to aid the student to obtain a grasp of the matter and to be as suggestive as possible without becoming technical or philosophical.

Physical Interests.—Under instinct we discussed the food-getting impulse and the instincts for self-preservation. Out of these impulses have grown the physical interests. The desire for food and drink is one of the chief interests of man. This means not only sufficient food and water to supply the body; the interest has been developed until the appetite demands foods which are well seasoned, carefully prepared, and possessed of peculiar tastes. It has even taken extravagant forms, demanding unusual and expensive dishes, such as the extreme forms of the days of the old Roman banquets, when peacocks' brains and nightingales' tongues were in demand, and when the depths of the sea and the corners of the earth were searched for rare and peculiar foods. This desire has also taken abnormal turns, such as the cravings for intoxicants and drugs, and has gone to such an extreme that the average American family formerly spent annually nearly $100.00 on liquor alone. The demand for drink has passed from that for water to

trary arrangement. Park and Burgess treat both interests and forces under *Social Forces* in Chapter VII of *An Introduction to the Science of Sociology* and at the end of this chapter give an excellent bibliography on the subject.

that for drinks which have pleasing tastes, such as tea, coffee, chocolate, lemonade, limeade, and the various concoctions furnished by the soda fountain and the saloon.

The demand for clothing arises in large part because of our physical needs or interests, although clothing was originally adopted for the sake of ornament and is still to a great extent worn for that purpose. But in modern society clothing is absolutely essential, especially in our northern climates. The desire for shelter has much the same character, although in a modern house we demand far more than mere healthful shelter, requiring beauty, congenial location and convenience.

Aversion to pain, love of warmth, and desire for bodily ease, as well as the demand for safety from physical injury, are other examples of physical interests. Craving for exercise is to a large extent a direct result of the health interest. Desire for sensuous pleasure also is included under phyical interests. In short, this group comprises all interests leading to the satisfaction of any bodily demand.

Economic Interests.—While of minor importance under primitive conditions, the economic interests are perhaps to-day the strongest prompting man to activity. Under this heading comes any interest leading to the production or accumulation of wealth. It is closely connected with, and at times inseparable from physical interests, for wealth is produced in order to satisfy human demands, many of which are physical. Man works for a wage because that wage will procure him what he wants. He accumulates property so as not to be in want in the future. Yet those who build up and organize industry are seldom compelled to do it merely in order to supply their physical needs. Industry is motivated by other interests than physical needs, such as rivalry, love of ostentation, instinct of workmanship, etc. Sociology does not recognize the conception of the "economic man" of the classical economists. Sociology recognizes that man strives for wealth in order to gain control, achieve prestige, win a wife, buy a title, or gain the applause of his fellows; or for the mere sake

of the game as well as for the satisfaction of his physical needs.

Wealth is, in brief, the means of satisfying other interests. Yet it does not destroy the validity of the concept of economic interests that it cannot be separated from the other interests. Man labors in order to produce, exchange, distribute, and consume wealth. This wealth may bring him the power of satisfying desires for influence in society, power over rivals, books, art treasures, travel, music, or sensual pleasure. He may not take advantage of these things, but wealth to him is the representation of them. For the sake of wealth men toil and deny themselves the satisfaction of other interests. They organize their lives for this purpose and for meeting the demands of the wealth-getting process. They may do this for their own wealth interest, or may by the organization of society be compelled to do it for the benefit of someone else. With primitive man this interest was not so strong, the other more direct interests, particularly the physical, taking precedence over it; but as the satisfaction of wants becomes more indirect, and as consumption of goods is postponed through the increase in the number of steps in the production and distribution of wealth, the wealth interest becomes stronger, until under our present capitalistic organization it is probably the strongest interest in society.

Sociability Interests.—The sociability instinct of man has persisted throughout history and has permeated every branch of human society. Man cannot live a Robinson Crusoe existence; he has to have companionship. In order to obtain it he will deny himself the satisfaction of other interests, accepting smaller pay, enduring privation, and even suffering hardship. Solitary confinement is one of the worst punishments, and even temporary absence from friends and relatives is considered a hardship.

One craves not merely companionship, but also congenial companionship, the association of kindred spirits. While there are many exceptions, it is the general tendency for each member of society to seek out and mingle with others of like character, temperament, ability, and training. This

is not always possible, but such is the desire and effort of each person. We want to associate with others of our kind. We see this principle illustrated by the exclusiveness of the members of so-called society in their efforts to exclude those whom they consider unfit to be in their set. We find the same sentiment in the college fraternity, the club, the fraternal order, and even—sad to say—in some of our churches. If we watch any large gathering where there is freedom of movement, we shall quickly notice the drifting together of those having like interests and desires—unconscious perhaps, but inevitable. This interest is so strong in society that it underlies every phase of activity—social, political, and religious.

This interest has been a strong factor in history, kindred spirits establishing colonies, after the manner of Plymouth, Pennsylvania, and Maryland, and founding model communities, such as Brook Farm, Arcadia, the Oneida Community, and the various Shaker communities. We find groups of kindred spirits engaging in piratical expeditions, and in warlike campaigns of conquest or discovery, starting revolutions, establishing governments, founding religions, cooperating, in short, in all the varied activities of life. If we took away from society this craving for companionship, life would be devoid of much of its charm. Man desires the sympathy of his fellows; he wishes to satisfy his pride and vanity. To gratify his love of power and glory he must have companions to witness his achievements. Though it is not the only factor or even the chief interest in society, the sociability interest is one of the most important and must be carefully considered in a study of any social or group enterprise.

Recreational Interests.—The recreational interests are closely connected with the social. The play impulse craves satisfaction. The demand for muscular activity, for rest from labor, for expression of emotions—all find their outlet in the recreational interests. Not only the child but even the adult craves recreation. In America recreation generally takes the form of team play, for which several participants are necessary and the number of onlookers is

limited only by the seating capacity. Our great football games draw thousands; in fact, stadiums and amphitheaters cannot be constructed large enough to satisfy the demand. At important games our baseball parks are crowded, and people have been known to stand in line all night to insure themselves good seats. Theaters are often sold out for weeks in advance. The motion-picture business has developed with wonderful rapidity, simply in response to the demand for cheap amusement.

Games provide fellowship as well as furnish rest and relaxation. Ideas of recreation differ among races; the English and Americans as a rule take their recreation in active sports; the Oriental takes his in repose and meditation. It is hard to draw the line between recreational interests and artistic interests, dancing, singing, and many games being on the borderland between them. Recreation is also vitally connected with other interests, for the economic motive functions in many of our sports and actually controls some, such as organized baseball and the professional sports in general. To many, engaging in sports is an occupation; among these are the professional boxer, wrestler, and baseball player. Teaching games is a profession, in fact a very well-paid profession.

Many people mingle pleasure with work, some taking keen pleasure in their work. The negro, for example, is never a good workman until he gets himself into the right emotional attitude. Successful employers of negro labor are often careful to employ some workers who are good singers. In this way they manage to have the work done much more rapidly. If one can fall in love with his work and treat it as a game, he will not only enjoy it more, but will as a rule be far more successful than if he looks upon it as a task which must be performed. If he can combine work with the proper amount of recreation, he can accomplish work of a much higher order than if he took no recreation whatever. While often slighted, on the one hand, and allowed too great liberty, on the other, the play interest is a valid one, and when held under the proper

control furnishes one of man's greatest satisfactions. Sports, especially those where courage and daring are required, teach courage and a spirit of fair play. They also quicken the eye and the memory, train the muscles to accuracy and quickness of movement, and fit man for usefulness in society, in addition to satisfying the craving for amusement. This interest is perfectly normal and worthy and should be encouraged.

Religious Interests.—In our chapter on Religion and Ethics we studied the development of religion, tracing the various steps in its evolution. In our next chapter we shall again consider religion, this time as an element of social control. All we shall do here, therefore, will be to treat it as a social interest. Our religious interests enter into every phase of our life, supplying motives of action or restraint, generally the latter. Everybody has some sort of religious interest and is affected by it, even though he may try to subdue or kill it. While this interest is to a certain extent innate, it is largely the result of cultivation. As the conception of religion becomes loftier this interest changes in a corresponding manner.

Closely connected and interwoven with the religious interests are the *ethical* and *altruistic* interests. They supply motives which are less sordid than physical and economic ones. While man is largely selfish by nature, he has some ideas of rightness and justice and wants to see fair play. He may not be so anxious to give the other fellow fair play as he is to have the other fellow give it to him, and he is much more eager to compel others to observe it than he is for them to compel him to practice it. But nevertheless there is the altruistic tendency, which has been steadily growing as civilization has advanced. The world is gradually throwing off the shackles of despotism: freeing the slave, elevating the serf, destroying the absolutism of rulers or limiting their powers, extending the right of self-government to more and more people, allowing women greater freedom, changing the form of law from the arbitrary command of one or a few to the mature opinion of

many, and substituting milder and more just forms of punishment of crime for the harsh and prejudiced decisions of those in power.

Because of the rise of ethical and altruistic sentiments religion has grown purer and loftier. The altruistic sentiment is not an innate characteristic but has been developed from sympathy. There is a growing sentiment in favor of caring for others. Formerly we looked with indifference at the sufferings of others, provided they were not related to us or connected with us by ties of friendship, but now we draw no lines. The Great War presented many illustrations of this fact. The neutral nations not only sent vast sums to care for the orphaned, crippled, and needy of the warring nations, but furnished hospitals, nurses, and doctors, often at great sacrifices, in order to relieve the suffering of those in distress. This was later extended to relieve suffering even in the enemy's country. If a famine is caused in India by the failure of a crop, or an earthquake or volcanic eruption destroys the means of living in some far-off island food pours in from all sections of the earth. Distress in China has been relieved, even if those administering help were called "foreign devils" and in peril of their very lives. Not only has distress at home, such as that caused by the Mississippi River flood of 1927, been relieved, but suffering caused by disasters in distant lands has likewise been alleviated. Vast organizations have been built up for such work, such as our charity organizations, community chests, the Red Cross and the Salvation Army. The spread of this altruistic development to the newer, what were formerly considered as backward, nations is one of our most hopeful signs.

This altruistic sentiment has affected the policies of governments as well as that of individuals, replacing the older selfishness. The policy of England toward South Africa furnishes a good illustration. After conquering that country, the English gave the Boers better government and more real independence and freedom than they had enjoyed before, allowing even the election of the commander-in-chief of the Boer army to the presidency of the new repub-

lic, which embraced all of English South Africa. The Boers, on their part, showed their ability to appreciate such treatment and remained loyal to England in her time of distress during the World War, thus proving the practical value of such a policy. What makes this illustration the more remarkable is the fact that England conquered that country from purely selfish motives.

Formerly we were indifferent to the misery of the lower classes, but now we try not only to relieve suffering but also to prevent it. We attempt not merely to keep free from such evils ourselves, but to grapple with the problem and relieve the distress of others. Instead of avoiding diseases we try to find the cures for them; scientists even risk and oftentimes lose their lives in order to find the cures for such scourges as yellow fever, leprosy, the bubonic plague, spotted fever, and tetanus. Reformers throw their whole souls into the work of wiping out such evils as the liquor traffic, opium habit, graft in politics, and child labor, although personally they are not injured by such evils. People with comfortable incomes fight for minimum wage legislation; those who have not gone to jail, for the reform of our prison systems; those who live in comfortable homes, for building codes and housing reforms; those who do not work in factories, for protection against dangerous machinery and unsanitary conditions. Missionaries often go to foreign fields to labor for small salaries, when they could command several times as much at home. Others give their lives to the elevation of the lower classes and the relief of distress at home. All these illustrations go to show the increase of altruistic motives and the importance of these interests in society. We may expect this group of interests to become stronger and stronger as civilization advances.

Political Interests.—Like the economic, the political interests are often merely the outgrowth of other interests. The rule once was that of the strong arm; early political organization was a means of enforcing the authority of a few. Later it became the means of giving justice to many. But even to-day government is frequently perverted into a means of satisfying the selfish desires of

certain favored individuals. It is asserted by some that the Constitution of the United States was written by the capitalist class, who consciously or unconsciously framed it so as to protect their interests. One of the chief purposes of government is to protect the citizens of the state, and to this extent it is an outgrowth of the instincts for protection and self-defense. It is the means of enforcing and administering justice, of preserving and protecting the economic interests. The state protects property and regulates its exchange and administration, and often political interests have as their dominant motive the furthering of economic interests. It is the means of protecting the individual against violence and unhealthful conditions, and thus it accomplishes the furthering of the physical interests. It is a means of enlarging the altruistic or humanitarian interests through care of the poor, sick, defective, and dependent classes. Yet like the economic, the political interests have a distinct field of their own, politics being separate from family life, religious activities, commerce, and industry. Politics is a profession. It is also an avocation for many who do not follow it as a means of livelihood. In every well-organized state where there is universal or partial suffrage, there are developed political parties, each standing for certain more or less definite purposes, such as policies of international trade, regulation of industries, or reform of institutions. These parties have their rise, development and decline, and are supplanted by others. In a country like the United States, party lines are so well drawn and parties are so well organized that every person is supposed to have, and generally does have, some party affiliation; and in many places this affiliation is so hard and fast that he will support his party regardless of right or wrong, or of the merit of the issues involved.

Such conditions are regrettable, and in fact they are slowly breaking up, political organization being gradually looked upon as a means to an end, rather than as an end in itself. Yet the political interest, especially in a country which is governed more or less by the popular vote, is one

which enters into the daily life of almost every citizen and therefore cannot be neglected.

Æsthetic or Artistic Interests.—Almost as far back as we can trace the history of man, we find the æsthetic or artistic interests at work in some form or other, first in personal adornment or decoration and later in the decorations of tools, weapons, huts, and articles of use. Professor Ward has traced the development of these interests from animal decoration, such as the fine plumage of birds and the natural decoration of other animals, as illustrated by the mane of the lion, and the stripes of the tiger. Man adopted clothing for this purpose; and he has incorporated the desire for decoration into every phase of his varied life. It is closely akin to the recreational interests, for both enter into many activities, like the dance or the drama. It is also interwoven with religion, which has employed it as an aid to religious development, as in beautiful temples, cathedrals, vestments, and ceremonies of worship. Religion has always made use of music (even at times of dancing), as well as of architecture, painting, and sculpture.

On the other hand, religion has given art its greatest inspirations; the most lofty poems and the best paintings and pieces of sculpture are the results of religious inspirations. The finest statues that the world has known have resulted from the endeavors of the Greeks to represent their divinities, and the finest paintings have resulted from the efforts of artists to depict religious scenes, such as the Madonnas, the *Last Supper*, and *Christ Before Pilate;* and the finest pieces of architecture have been cathedrals and temples, such as the Temple of Solomon, the Taj Mahal, and the cathedrals of Europe.

At times art and religion have collaborated; at other times religion has restrained and controlled art. With the progress of society artistic interests have become differentiated into the interests represented by music, painting, sculpture, and architecture. These æsthetic interests take various forms among different races; things that appear beautiful to one race may not appeal to the taste

of another. Ideas of physical beauty are not the same among different peoples; the Hottentots, for example, consider corpulence a sign of beauty and select for the belles the plumpest girls in the tribe; with other peoples suppleness and gracefulness of form are the qualities desired. To a Kaffir child a thing is beautiful if it is good to eat. In clothing most of us desire beauty, even before warmth, although our ideas of beauty are sometimes perplexing and change from year to year. We even desire our food to be served in a manner pleasing to the eye. Furniture must be beautiful as well as useful.

As leisure increases and as man has more opportunities to gratify his desires, the æsthetic interests in society become more pronounced; therefore we may anticipate a constant increase in the importance of these interests.

Intellectual Interests.—Another group of interests, which have been artificially developed by society, are those represented by knowledge, culture, and refinement. The knowledge interest is a direct result of the activity of the intellect. When man began life, he was confronted with facts of nature which he did not understand and which he could not interpret. As a result he feared nature; but as his fears were allayed he began to ponder and to think upon the why and wherefore of things; he began to investigate and to discover causes. He found delight in this process such as the child feels upon finding out things; pleasure resulted from the satisfying of the feeling of curiosity. This interest entered into religion and magic and into the economic life. As soon as man discovered anything he would pass it on to others.

At first this was a slow, difficult, and uncertain process, but with the invention of an alphabet and later of printing it was made easier. While utility was the incentive to find out things, the very finding itself was pleasant and gave a satisfaction all its own. In fact, the solving of puzzles and problems has always been a favorite amusement and many of our games, like chess, checkers, and solitaire, have this as their chief element. We like to do things simply to be able to do them. The spirit of emula-

tion comes in too; we are ashamed not to know something which someone else knows. Many people read books simply to be able to say that they have read them, or for fear of being considered ignorant if they have not done so. Much of our education brings us little practical utility. We often study merely to learn things, knowing that we may make no practical use of our knowledge. We often learn arts like playing the piano or violin, or singing, for the sole purpose of being able to perform, because we consider it a mark of refinement to know these arts.

It is knowledge that has given man his victory over nature, for without this product of intellect man would still be little better than the animals. Knowledge is necessary for the battle with life. In our present society some knowledge is absolutely essential for life itself. Knowledge is a means of maintaining one's standard of life and position in society. We have organized this interest in our educational institutions, with their vast ramifications and intimate connection with the life of every person. Yet the intellectual interests do not end here; instead they only begin for in our schools we merely start the individual on the road to knowledge. The intellectual interests are maintained throughout the entire life. There is no limit to the increase of this interest, and it is in all probability the one which has had the largest growth in the life of society, and the one which bids fair to show the greatest development in the future.

These are by no means all of the different groups of interests which might be mentioned, nor all of the branches of the interests considered. Man is, in fact made up of a bundle of interests, each of which is pressing its claims for attention. By interests we do not mean the great compelling forces of society, but the motives or incentives that prompt man to do things. These interests are fundamental to our social institutions. It is the religious interest which is crystallized into religious organizations; the political interests underlie law and government; the economic interest is the foundation of industry and commerce; our intellectual interests produce educational

institutions. Other interests are the incentives to the upbuilding of other institutions. In the next chapter we shall see how these institutions in turn control the life of man.

Group Interests.—Society is a collection of groups. Each person in society is a member of several groups. He is a member of some family, which is a group and the one which is generally regarded as the fundamental social group. He is at the same time a member of many other groups, possibly of a church or Sunday school, a baseball team, a business firm, a political party, a lodge, a club, a board of directors, a chautauqua association, etc. He may be not only a member of more or less permanent groups such as have been mentioned, but he is continually becoming and ceasing to be a member of temporary groups—he is a unit of a crowd on the street corner, a passenger on the street car or elevator, a member of a theater audience, or a part of a crowd at the ball game or political meeting, though in the latter case he may not be a member of the party conducting the meeting. He may belong to several groups at the same time. Each time he is influenced to some extent by the group of which he is a member, even if it is merely the group in the elevator. At the same time he exercises his influence upon the other members of the group, though he may never speak to them. Groups may be consciously and purposely organized, or unconsciously and accidentally formed. Each group stands for a definite object, especially the conscious and purposeful groups like the political party or the church; but even the crowd on the street car has a purpose in common—they are desirous of riding on the same car at the same time. In brief, these groups are the results of social interests, whether such interests be lasting or fleeting; each interest causes for the time being the formation of a group.

The group is always stronger than the individual, for he, though helping to shape the group, is controlled by it. If he is a member of a church, he is obliged to abide by the regulations of that body, although he may have had no voice in the making of those regulations. The group is continually whipping the individual into line. The code

of conduct demanded by the group may or may not be superior to that of the individual. In the group the individual may try to hide his meaner self and show only his better nature and yet in other crowds the opposite may be true, as illustrated by a crowd lynching a negro for insulting a white man. The crowd may be controlled by the better spirits or by the baser ones, depending upon conditions. Some individuals always rise above the group, but on the other hand there are individuals who are always below the group standard. But the group is continually trying to compel its members to be alike.

Group standards are made for the average person, and there are always those who chafe under them. Seniors in college occasionally object to requirements and restrictions which to the freshman seem very lenient, because these rules are not made for seniors but for the average college student, who is theoretically half way between the sophomore and junior years. The senior has grown tired of them, has possibly outgrown them. It is much the same with nearly all groups. If a person is too big for his group (a situation which often arises), he should get out of it, because he will either neglect his duties, due to an undervaluation of his position, or arouse the jealousy or envy of his fellows or possibly both. As a result, it is often much more difficult for a person to fill a position which is too small for him than one which is too big, for in the latter case his associates do not envy or fear him, and so are willing to help him out of his difficulties.

Social progress consists in raising standards—which means the elevation of group standards—and this must be the result of individual action within the group. The reformer as a rule is hated and ridiculed, sometimes even persecuted and killed. The problem of life often consists in finding out how far to be a reformer and when to be merely a conformer. The innovator must always carry the burden of proof. Yet the success of the group depends not upon the subjection of the individual, but on its service to the individual members of the group. If it retards their interests, it will be only a question of time until it

is dissolved. Group struggles are often merely struggles between individuals within the group. Sometimes it is best for society for the individual to remain in a certain group —*i. e.*, the penitentiary, reformatory, insane asylum, feeble-minded school or hospital. While the individual might live a freer life outside the group, it is often best to remain in it—for instance, in the family. An individual may function well in one group and be a failure in another. He may be a model husband and father, yet be a pickpocket or gambler by occupation; he may be a successful minister and yet neglect his family; he may be a magnificent athlete and yet be a poor student; he may be a splendid salesman and yet not pay his debts.

To a certain extent groups—that is, permanent groups —in society follow occupational lines. Followers of each occupation form a group by themselves; bricklayers belong to their union, work for its advancement, and associate with other bricklayers and with workers in allied trades; factory hands join together to form their own groups; so do employers in the different fields of industry; professional people associate according to professions; day laborers herd together in much the same way. Social grouping is not altogether on the basis of occupation, but may function according to recreation, social endeavors, religion, and politics. There are churches which cater to the rich and others which are attended only by the poor. Stores in the same way appeal to certain groups, and each political party tries to recruit its followers according to occupational or racial lines, appealing to these interests to hold them together. Farmers associate with farmers not only in economic ways, but for religious, social, educational, and welfare interests. While there are many exceptions to this rule, it is the tendency, where conditions permit, for those of the same or kindred occupations to associate and form groups based on interests even outside of their real occupational interests, simply because they have certain things in common, and because of this feel more at home with those of the same or allied occupations than with members of other occupations.

We might multiply illustrations of group action; in fact we might work out a complex system of such associations. Man does not act or function individually, but as a member of some group. So important have other authorities considered this matter of group interest, that some maintain that sociology is primarily a study of groups, group interest, and group action. While we cannot go to that extreme, we must give due weight to this factor in society. Groups are to society what words are to speech or to a story; yet taken by themselves they are often dull and uninteresting. We must take into consideration their arrangement and the thought back of them. To study groups we must study the interests underlying them, the institutions which they produce, and their relation to society at large. We must not forget society because of the groups; we must not overlook the achievements of man in our eagerness to study the methods by which they were brought about; we must not neglect the conditions and problems of society in our study of the functions of groups.

Man has instincts, feelings, and intellect, and he is prompted to act by interests which are largely the outgrowths of these three factors. These interests take the form of group interests; hence man functions in groups. The same group interests lead to the development of institutions which control society. The individual's relation to the group is much the same as the relation of the letter to the word, or of the atom to the molecule. He is a part of the group, but the group is the stronger of the two. He ordinarily has a hand in molding the group, but only as a member of the group. Occasionally the individual is able to break up the group and form another, or to remain in the group and control it; in fact, we often find such cases, but the burden of the proof is on the leader, and he must function for the best interests of the group in order to hold this position and convince his followers that he is doing so. In general, it is the group which controls the individual and not the individual which controls the group.

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CHAPTER XIX

SOCIAL CONTROL

By social control we mean that form of control which directs or governs the action of society or the groups that compose society. It is that control which determines the action of the group, rather than the action of the individual. As each individual is a member of several groups, he is always affected by such form of control, but he is affected as a member of a group, rather than as an individual.

Some type of social control is absolutely necessary in any form of organized society; in fact, we are so accustomed to social control that we do not resent it. We do not even recognize it, merely taking it as a matter of course. But social control is not confined to highly civilized races, for primitive tribes as well have their systems of social control. The primitive man is governed by superstition, fear, habit, custom and belief in charms and spirits, even though he does not have well-developed social institutions. The form of control may be different, but the idea is the same. The control is there and is just as effective, even if the means of working it out may not be like those of modern society.

We do not contend at all that this social control is consciously worked out, for it may be unconscious. As we shall see, public opinion is probably the greatest means of social control that we have had, and it generally guides our action without our forming any idea about it. Art, education, custom, and habit rule us in much the same way. Fear, superstition, and belief in spirits controlled primitive man in a similar manner. Law is consciously felt, and religion often is, although not necessarily so.

Since the action of the individual affects society, it is

only right that society should have some say in regard to what that action shall be. Society must have the right to defend itself against the actions of unsocial individuals, as well as to curb the extreme members of the group, and to compel the individual members to conform more or less strictly to group standards and ideals. Not only is control necessary for the advance and progress of the human race, it has been found absolutely essential to life itself. As society becomes more intricate and life more complex, social control becomes more imperative. As population becomes denser, it becomes more necessary for society to lay down rules and regulations in regard to the actions of its members so as to protect the rights of each, to prevent the strong from exploiting the weak, and to keep the anti-social individuals from injuring the life of normal society. As Ross maintains,[1] sympathy, sociability, and a sense of justice are common to all, and produce what he calls a "natural order."

We all have the ability to feel for others, though it is more developed in some persons than in others. With many it applies only to those who are near, or who come into contact with them, while in others it reaches out into the higher feeling of altruism. With some it means only an attempt to avoid, with others an attempt to relieve, and with still others a desire to remedy permanently. We are all more or less social beings; we cannot live isolated lives. We are compelled to come into contact with our fellow-men, but we also crave their company. Man was in early times forced to be social to some extent to live, and in order to advance we also are compelled to be social. In the same way, there is in all of us a sense of justice or love of fair play, a desire to put contestants on an equal footing. This is especially seen to-day in our games. The same feeling exists among savages. It is much more highly developed in some races, however, than in others, because of more favorable environment. For the same reasons it is more highly developed among

[1] Ross, E. A., *Social Control*, Part I (Macmillan, 1901).

men than women, although sympathy is just the opposite, being stronger among women, because it is in part a natural outgrowth of the family relationship.

This sense of justice is not necessarily sympathy, for justice is an attempt to make people equal and to treat them as equals, while sympathy deals chiefly with unequals.[2] It is the feeling on the part of the strong of compassion for the weak, and for this very reason is generally scorned by those who are strong, and is sought only when one feels his weakness and misfortune. Because of this fact we cannot have a strong sense of justice when we recognize such class distinctions as master and slave, or lord and serf. The greater the inequality the less chance for justice, and the harder it is for justice to be recognized. Coupled with this sense of justice is a sense of resentment if justice is not enforced. Not only do these three—sympathy, sociability, and a sense of justice—produce a social order, but they also form a basis for social control, a reason for its existence, and a groundwork for its structure.

We find struggles between different forms of social control, between different codes. We see this strongly developed when one nation conquers another—e. g., the conquest of Persia by the Greeks, of the Britons by the Normans, and of the Poles and Finns by the Russians. We have seen it, though less forcibly, in this country when we have received a mass of immigrants. We find group morality coming into conflict with individual morality. The individual is not always wrong; in fact, group morality is often lower than individual morality, or perhaps we ought to say does not rise to such heights. It holds more of a middle ground. We find the group stifling reform because the reform is too advanced for the group to appreciate. On the other hand, we find the group hold-

[2] One can sympathize with a member of the same group, such as a relative, neighbor, friend, etc., but the sympathy is the result of something which has occurred, such as an accident, misfortune, loss of a relative, loss of a position or fortune, which makes the recipient of the sympathy unequal or less fortunate than the giver.

ing in restraint the wayward individual. If group morality were not lower than the highest individual morality, it could not be enforced.

To have social control we must also have some form of authority to enforce it. To provide this authority there have sprung up at various times different classes which have exercised control, for example, prophets and priests, who have been especially powerful in times of danger and ignorance; elders, who among many peoples, such as the American Indians, have been looked up to for advice and counsel because of their age and experience; the nobility throughout the Middle Ages and in some countries even to this day; the capitalist class, who have controlled whenever industry has been highly developed; the educated and what Professor Ross calls the "élite" [3] like the Greek philosophers, the Stoics, the early Christian Fathers, and the Mandarins of China. Then there have always been individuals or geniuses, who by their own personality and brilliancy have gained power, such as Napoleon, Cromwell, and Hannibal. The character of control varies with every change in the ruling class, or with every modification in the system of control. The management of the capitalist is different from that of the old landlords, which preceded it; also the control of the educated differs from that of the elders.

Means of Social Control.—*Public Opinion.*—Of the various means or forms which social control takes, public opinion is probably the most important, and also the one ordinarily least considered by the average person. Ross divides this control into three parts: [4] (1) Public sentiment, or the admiration, abhorrence, respect, or disgust expressed by the public in regard to an act or event. (2) Public judgment, or the forming of an opinion in regard to the act, leading to a condemnation or approval, or a decision as to whether the act is good or bad, advantageous or disadvantageous. (3) Public act, or measure

[3] Ross, E. A., *Social Control,* p. 83 (Macmillan, 1901).

[4] Ross, E. A., *Social Control,* Chaps. II, III and IV (Macmillan, 1901).

taken by the public, other than the sentiment or judgment mentioned, in regard to the act, in order to affect conduct, to control such acts or actions—to stop them, or prevent their repetition in the future.

Public opinion is expressed by the snub, the cut, the cold shoulder; its aim is generally to ostracize. It finds expression both through the individualistic act and through the press, the pulpit, and public resolutions. It is brought vividly to our minds by the cartoon, the popular song, the poster, and by any means that will help to influence and express public sentiment. But public opinion does not always confine itself to such mild means of expression; it sometimes becomes violent, and ends by riding the offender on a rail, by applying a coat of tar and feathers, or by lynching. It breaks into the home and interferes with family life, where the offense is such as wife-beating or cruelty to children. It rides over laws and enforces its decisions in spite of law. It compels government officials to act. Public opinion ostracizes those who do not go with the crowd. People will have little to do with the persons who differ with them. While stronger in some places than in others, the force of public opinion is felt everywhere.

The United States Government made very effective use of public opinion in marketing its Liberty Bonds, selling War Savings Stamps, enforcing food regulations, and teaching methods of conservation and economy during the World War. It was also made use of by the Red Cross, Y. M. C. A., and other organizations. In all probability the tremendous success of America's war program was due more to the force of public opinion than to any other single cause.

Public opinion is extremely irregular in its actions, and is much less uniform than law, although often more effective. It is often unjust, and while it may right great wrongs, as in the adoption of Magna Charta, the establishment of liberty in France, the forcing of the president of France to pardon Dreyfus, and compelling of the mills in Massachusetts to grant increases in wages after the

Lawrence strike in 1912, it has on the other hand demanded and obtained the execution of many of the world's greatest benefactors, among whom have been Christ, Socrates, Huss, and innumerable other religious and political reformers. In fact, all nations appear to have killed or persecuted their greatest benefactors. Public opinion often sets out to right some great wrong, but when the wrong is overthrown, instead of stopping and calming down it continues and becomes an ungovernable menace, as shown by the French Revolution.

Effects of Public Opinion.—(1) Probably the most lasting effect of public opinion is found in our legal statutes. Laws could not be made, still less enforced, unless backed up by public opinion. The prohibition laws in Kansas and Maine could not be enforced until public opinion was thoroughly in favor of them; then enforcement was comparatively easy and effective. (2) Court decisions are influenced by it. This is especially true of the Supreme Court of the United States, for as a result of public opinion the Supreme Court has in recent years given much more liberal interpretation to the Federal Constitution. A good illustration of this is the change in the interpretation of the Sherman Anti-trust Act. (3) Policies of nations are dictated by it; the breaking of the Triple Alliance by Italy in the Great War is a good example from modern times. The people of Italy were in sympathy with France, and not with Germany or Austria, and they compelled the Italian government to fight with the Allies, instead of joining the countries with which she had an alliance. In a republic this type of influence is still stronger. (4) As already suggested, it controls the actions of individuals, even if the individual is supposed to be disinterested and impartial. This is seen every day in baseball games, when not only the actions of the players but also the decisions of the umpires are all too often influenced by the actions of the crowd. In fact, it is extremely difficult to find a competent umpire, one who can render fair decisions, in spite of players or the crowd.

The growth of public opinion depends upon the free-

dom of communication, particularly freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Its control is much greater in a republic like the United States than in such a country as Russia, or even Germany. Leaders must respect public opinion if they are to succeed. The successful politician feels the pulse of the people and expresses his policies along the lines with which the public is in sympathy. Theodore Roosevelt is probably the best recent example that can be found of the politician who practiced this method—perhaps the best that the United States has ever produced. On the other hand, some public men have managed to be just in advance of the people; and have promulgated policies before the people were ready for them. Later on many of these same policies were adopted after they became popular. No great movement can succeed unless supported by public opinion. If public opinion is against a reform or a progressive policy, public opinion has to be changed by a course of advertising and publicity before the measure can be carried through or made effective. While irregular and erratic, public opinion is one of the strongest and farthest reaching means of social control that we have. The public cannot be "damned"; it has to be catered to.

Public opinion is also molded by other means of social control, particularly advertising, propaganda, and even gossip. The press is both a mouthpiece of public opinion and a molder of it, expressing it probably far more than making it.

Law.—The importance of law as a means of social control is self-evident, and the majority of people would probably put it first in the order of importance; but in reality it is secondary to public opinion. In fact, as we have seen, it is merely a reflection or echo of public opinion; it represents the crystallization of public opinion. Laws are the rules of society laid down for its government. They are to protect society, to guard the individual against molestation, and to protect the public against the acts of the unsocial. In order to protect, law takes into its hands the right of punishment. As we shall

see in a later chapter on crime, the theory of punishment has changed. At first punishmet was regarded as a means of revenge, and then as a means of repressing or stamping out the so-called criminal classes; this theory has gradually changed to one stressing reformation of the criminal, and finally the prevention of crime. Yet the main idea of punishment has been to protect society.

As a means of control, law is more regular and methodical than public opinion, and for that reason it is generally slower and clumsier. At the same time it is more accurate, although we find some laws that are bad just as we find public opinion sometimes in the wrong. Laws are often evaded and shrewd lawyers find loop-holes in them; in fact, law often punishes those who do not deserve it and allows those who do deserve it to escape. While law follows public opinion, it is often far in the rear; it can never precede. Probably the bulk of the large fortunes in this country were accumulated by, or had their start in, methods which to-day would be criminal, but which were legal at the time of the amassing of the fortune, as there were no laws preventing such practices as rebating, pooling, stock-watering, forming inter-locking directorates, paying starvation wages, boodling, employing child labor, adulteration, under-cutting and under-selling, and other unfair methods of competition. While law is clumsy and unjust at times, it is necessary. What we need is not less law, but more efficient law, more effective legal machinery, and more efficient courts. Most of the defects of law are attributable to the inefficiency of our courts rather than to the inadequacy of our laws.

Religion.—Religion, or the belief in some superhuman personage or power, and faith in that power or person, has always been one of the greatest controlling factors in human life. It probably governs the life of the savage far more than the civilized person. In the past this control was exercised largely through the fear of bodily pain or of future torment. The religion of the savage was largely one of magic and superstition. He did not do

certain acts because he believed that doing them, or failing to do them, would bring a penalty or punishment. He performed certain rites before planting his crop, for fear that if he omitted them the seed would not grow, or he would not be able to reap a harvest. He performed other rites before setting out on a warlike campaign, for fear that the gods or spirits would not bring him victory if he neglected them. He avoided doing certain things as, for example, the killing of a sacred animal, for fear that the act would arouse the anger of the spirit or god represented by that animal, and he would suffer for it. When his religion laid down certain rules of life he followed them, for fear of future torment, lest, according to his belief in the transmigration of souls, his soul should pass into an impure or despised animal, like a toad, snake, or worm. Fear of injuring the spirits of ancestors, if ancestor worship was the recognized religion, was a strong means of controlling the actions of individuals. Fear of the charms and powers of medicine men compelled tribes to obey them and carry out their wishes. The same was true of the priests and prophets, because it was believed that they had some connection with the superhuman power and so had the ability to injure or to benefit. This is evidenced in early Hebrew history, when the prophets were feared and obeyed, not only by the common people but by the kings as well. Even down to our present time religion has controlled through fear of hell-fire. Control is exercised through fear by the Brahmans and Mohammedans, and in many countries by the Greek and Roman Catholic churches, by threats of future punishment. Emphasis on future life is one of the strongest means used to-day by the modern Protestant and Catholic churches for influencing their people. The modern tendency, however, is not to emphasize the fear of torment and punishment, so much as the delight of future happiness and content. In other words, religion is holding out reward ra'her than threatening punishment. This, of course, shows a great advance and gives a loftier meaning to religion. It also ennobles religious action. Not only the

promise of a happy future, but also that of pleasing departed friends is one of the forms which religious control takes. This is seen in our custom of decorating the graves of the departed.

Religion controls also by making a social center of the place of worship. The synagogue of Jerusalem was a center of both religious and political and social life. Our churches formerly served this purpose better than at the present time, and we are now endeavoring to make them perform this social function more effectively. Our city churches—that is the ones that are the most successful—are using their church buildings during the week as halls for clubs; they are putting in gymnasiums and organizing baseball clubs, basketball teams, reading circles, classes in manual training and domestic science, and are teaching immigrants. In this way they are endeavoring to obtain greater control over the daily lives of the people. If the church is to regain its old prestige it must obtain it through some such program as this. The church has surrendered to other institutions, particularly the school, functions which it can never regain, and probably should not regain. Other institutions were not organized and the church had to undertake their duties. A good illustration is found in the administration of poor relief. The charity organizations are probably better fitted to do this work than the church—at least they are doing it better than the church did.

Religion controls not only the lives of individuals, but also the policies of nations and the destinies of races. The Mohammedan conquests were incited entirely by religious zeal, and were not stopped until the Mohammedan horde met a similar force incited by Christianity, at Tours, under Charles Martel. Religious motives drove the Huguenots out of France, massacred the Armenians, caused the Pilgrims and Puritans to migrate to Massachusetts, and Catholics to Maryland, thus helping to settle America with a liberty-loving race. It is religion which has individualized the Jewish race and has kept it from being absorbed by other races. The Roman church for

centuries controlled the policies of Europe, and was not separated from the state in France and Spain till recently. The Greek church was interwoven with the government of Russia before its overthrow and was possibly the chief support of the Romanoffs. All the nations engaged in the great war appealed to God for His help, each firmly believing that He was on their side. The German, Russian, French, and English governments solemnly informed their people that God was with them and would bring victory to their cause. The Kaiser was particularly desirous of having his name associated with that of God.

Religion has also had its influence in molding law, and has given us most of our conceptions of right and wrong. As we observed in our treatment of the family, Christianity has exerted a great influence in elevating the position of woman, thus enabling the family to perform a finer service in the advancement of civilization. Religion has also furnished inspiration for artists, painters, sculptors, and poets, who have in return helped to increase the controlling power of religion. Religion has interwoven itself with practically all of our social institutions: we open our legislatures with prayer; we appeal to God in our courts every time the oath is administered; our coins bear the inscription, "In God we trust"; we figure time from the birth of Christ.

Many writers have exercised their ingenuity in showing how religion has hindered civilization and has stood in the way of progress. In many instances they are correct. For a long time the church fought science. Men were burned at the stake as heretics because they contended that the world was round; because they had invented some new way of doing things; or because they opposed some obsolete custom of the church. Religious organizations have persecuted members of other organizations which disagreed with them. Mohammedans have persecuted Christians, and Christians have persecuted Jews. Roman Catholics have persecuted Protestants; Protestants have persecuted Roman Catholics; Greek Catholics have persecuted both. Races and nations have

been blotted out, or nearly so, through religious hatred. Witness the Armenian massacres at the hands of the Turks. Some of the greatest crimes in the world's history have been committed in the name of religion. Yet in spite of all this, it is largely to religion that we owe our present advanced civilization. It is religion that has given us our loftiest thoughts, our best moral standards, our noblest ideals, our inspiration for a grander and nobler life.

The present growth of altruism is largely due to Christianity. The Christian injunctions "bear ye one another's burdens," "love thy neighbor as thyself," "do ye unto others as ye would that others should do unto you," have had their influence in popularizing this altruism; in fact, such a philosophy of life has been largely responsible for the developing of the spirit of neighborliness. This spirit is not confined to Christianity, but is seen at its highest development in that religion. It is an extension of family feeling, the spread of sympathy, the desire not only to relieve the sufferings of others but to prevent future misery and distress. As we noticed in a previous chapter, religion is constantly growing loftier and higher in sentiment and more useful to the world. While the arbitrary control of the church is becoming less important, its influence is still great and will continue to be so in the future. The control is changing from one of compulsion and force to one of leadership and inspiration. The church of the future, instead of driving people, will lead them. Instead of whipping them into line by threats of hell-fire, eternal damnation, and future torment, it will lead by pointing the way to a nobler life, to an altruistic instead of a selfish existence. It will inspire people to be better, rather than compel them through fear to abstain from doing wrong.

Education.—Education controls mainly by its power over the child. What the child is taught it will later believe. The power of education in religion is perhaps the best example we can find of this. The form of religion which is taught in eartly life is the one which usually is

followed later. This fact is recognized by some churches, particularly the Roman Catholic, which gives especial attention to the training of the children of its members according to the teachings of that church and seeks to bring them into the church early in life. The vast majority of church members belong to the same denominations to which their parents belonged.

Our ideas of right and wrong are governed largely by the teaching we receive early in life. The importance of education in childhood is so great, that many persons, fearing that ideas to which children are exposed may be fixed, object to religious education in the public schools. Education not only fits for life, but the teachings can be so directed as to fasten the attention of the child upon certain things or to train him to reason along certain channels.

The power of education has been recognized by those in authority, who, for the purpose of perpetuating their power, often have kept education away from those under them. In most slave countries education has been to a great extent forbidden, so as to keep the slaves contented or at least reconciled to their lot and thus prevent their emergence from this condition. This same policy was followed by the landlords in regard to serfs. It was followed to a large extent in Russia until the recent revolution, for fear that the common people would demand a greater share in the government. This has always been a policy of the ruling class if the submerged class was in the majority. Education is the key to success; it opens the door to opportunity. It gives one the benefit of the experience of others; it not only tells what has been done in the past, but suggests what can be done in the future. It gives one the ability to grapple with problems and to live a more useful life. The educated classes have given the world its greatest rulers. Legislators, magistrates, and officials are nearly always chosen from the educated classes, as they are considered the best fitted. The superiority of some races over others is largely a matter of such superior knowledge. The successful diffusion and assimila-

tion of information depends upon the effectivenes of the educational system. The effectiveness of the system and the usefulness of the education determine to a great extent the position of any given people in the scale of civilization. The invention of the phonetic alphabet and the art of printing have wonderfully facilitated the progress of education, and have increased tremendously the effectiveness of education as a means of social control. The wonderful superiority of the Spartan as a fighting man was the direct result of the rigor of the educational system which trained him not only to fight but to endure suffering and hardship, withstand pain, and to overcome all difficulties. The education of the Athenian was the direct opposite—training in music, oratory, and gymnastics—and produced a race of philosophers, artists, and statesmen. The educational system of Rome produced its types in like manner, especially the Roman statesman and lawgiver, who made it possible for Rome to rule for so long the vast territory which she conquered.

Education not only helps determine the government, laws, and institutions of the people, but it also affects their customs, habits, and standards of living. With increased education goes an advance in the standards of living, which adds to the comforts of the home. It brings in books, magazines, and papers; creates a demand for better furniture, food, and clothing, and larger and better houses. It affects the whole family life, even to the regulation of the number of children. An immediate result of increased education is a decrease in the birth-rate, the family demanding more things for the children and placing greater attention where it should be—on the rearing and caring for smaller families, rather than bringing into the world large families for which the family income is not sufficient. A corresponding result is the decrease in the death-rate.

Education is no longer being looked upon as a convenience, but as a necessity to society. The period of education is constantly growing longer. Instead of a few days or weeks spent in educating the youth, as in the

case of primitive people, the period has stretched into months and years. More subjects are put into the school curriculum and more is required of the student. Schools are being made not only to preserve the knowledge which has been already gained, but to prepare for further advance in all lines. Education is even being extended to adults; this phase is probably developed to a greater extent in Denmark than in any other country, although the United States is rapidly taking up the idea, especially in regard to agricultural education, and extending it through correspondence and university extension courses.

The school has supplanted the church in many ways, especially in the training of the young and in serving as a social center. In all probability it affects the community to a greater extent; at least it reaches more people. Our early colleges were founded, however, for the chief purpose of training ministerial students, though this function has now grown to be of minor importance in comparison with the other activities of the American colleges and universities. The transfer of responsibility for education may not necessarily be a sign of weakness. It may have been best that the church surrendered this function as soon as the school was able to carry it on, thus gaining time for other fields of labor as yet not covered, and affording itself an opportunity to be of greater use to society. But we shall have to admit that, as a force for the control of society, education has rapidly increased and is constantly growing. We can welcome this change, for education has brought about a higher standard of living. It has enabled man to live in an orderly, intelligent manner rather than in a haphazard way. It points to still greater progress. The importance of education as a means of control is testified to by the attempts on the part of numerous organizations and private individuals to determine what subjects shall be taught in our schools, and how they shall be taught.

Custom and Habit.—Custom and habit as social forces are not progressive like education, but conservative; they stand in the way of change or progress. While they often serve as a healthful check upon impulsive action, they

hinder philanthrophic and altruistic endeavors, and thus check the advance of civilization. The chief argument of custom is: This should be done because it has always been done; it is the best because it has always been so; it should be because it has always been. Every change in educational methods, as well as the development of any new science, such as sociology, for example, is opposed by custom. Custom lifts its hands in holy horror at any change in religious beliefs or any different interpretation of the Bible than that which has been given in the past. New inventions in industry are often ignored till competition or hard times compel the factory owner to adopt them. Home life every day gives illustration of this; methods of doing house-work are much the same to-day as they were a hundred years ago, simply because of this force which stands in the way of change. The greatest obstacle the woman suffrage and the feminist movements have had to face is custom, which would settle for eternity the position of woman in society. The writer well remembers the refusal of the authorities of Harvard University to allow Mrs. Pankhurst to speak in one of the university halls, for the sole reason that no woman had ever spoken in them.

The average person follows the multitude without thought. A few see another and possibly a better way, but follow the old because they know it is easier to go with the crowd, even though the way is roundabout, than to go in opposition to custom and habit. Others, more hardy and fearless, see the advantage of the change, and take the new way. Sometimes the new ways eventually win favor, and sometimes they are defeated.

All social institutions change slowly, and the impetus comes from within rather than from without. The burden of proof is always upon those seeking the change, who must show that the new is superior to the old.

Custom and habit do have positive and constructive values both in individual and social life. They maintain social solidarity, restrain the wayward and force the irregular to conform. They help to preserve the achieve-

ments of the past, to maintain the good things which have been worked out and tested in the past. They keep us from throwing away these past achievements, which have been tried out, in favor of new methods which have not been tried out. So, while conservative and often irksome, custom and habit have desirable features and do their part in keeping society within the safe and sane path.

Art.—Art as a social force is more difficult to classify than is custom. It naturally divides into several branches, and in operation is both progressive and reactionary. When we speak of art, we may mean poems, songs, and music. In this respect art may serve to keep alive a love of ancestry and of country. Witness the *Æneid* and the *Iliad* among classic examples; and *Dixie* and *America* among recent songs. It may kindle sympathy for the lowly, as in the reading of Gray's *Elegy in a Country Churchyard.* Music in its varied forms reaches both the educated and the illiterate. It may inspire soldiers to dash forward to their death. It awakens sentiments of piety and affection. It is the universal tongue of mankind.

Hardly less potent have been painting, pictorial illustration, and sculpture. Drawings have been found in the caves of Europe dating back one hundred thousand years.[5] Every savage race has its decorative arts—some of them attaining unexpected heights of beauty. The hieroglyphs of Egypt and Assyria are a blending of art and literature which tells the story of a vanished civilization. Greece is remembered to-day more for her attainments in art than for her military or political prowess.

Nevertheless, art can be made to pander to the lower side of man. There have been, and still are, degrading types of literature, of music, of the drama—another highly important field of art—and of painting. Art is used to make vice attractive, taking such forms as suggestive decorations and pictures, many of which are works of art despite their pernicious influence. The nature of the control by art is varied; it may be at one time subtle and

[5] See Osborn, H. F., *Men of the Old Stone Age* (Scribner, 1915).

delicate, and at another forceful and commanding. While at times employed in degrading enterprises, as the Night Club and the brothel, art is on the whole uplifting and elevating; and it has been a potent factor in the advance of civilization.

The Individual.—Control by personality has probably been exaggerated by historians, although from a sociological viewpoint this phase of control differs somewhat from the "great man" theory of history. It means the influence of the individual through his peculiar personality over the mass or crowd. Such influence may be due to great size or striking features, to wonderful energy or enthusiasm, or to some peculiarity which attracts attention. Witness the extraordinary size of Peter the Great, the height and homeliness of Lincoln, and the sternness of Cromwell. Military leaders were generally large men physically, or else they had an unusual amount of dash and courage, or a decidedly martial appearance. Politicians find that size is a great help; it adds dignity and commands attention. Sometimes lack of size may be offset by great energy or force, or by such peculiarities or idiosyncrasies as the wearing of an excessive amount of gold lace or braid, as in the case of Murat. To be a leader one must command respect and to a certain extent produce a feeling of awe; this is the reason why no great man is ever great to his valet, his intimates, or his own relatives. For different walks in life different qualities are needed. A banker must have a personality which inspires confidence in his financial integrity; a minister must be honored for his piety or devotion; a teacher requires knowledge and an ability to impart it; a salesman needs the ability to sell goods or to win confidence. For each a different kind of individuality is needed. This was particularly noticeable in the officers' training camps during the recent war. Here the clerk, floor walker, traffic policeman, and egotistic college freshman generally had traits which were greater assets in winning commissions than those possessed by their buiness employers, or college professors. This was due to abnormal conditions and the

change of emphasis. This is possibly one reason why so often the leader in college makes a failure in life; and why, on the contrary, the student who goes through college without attracting attention often is the one who wins the greatest success out in the world.

In primitive societies personal control, or the wielding of influence through personal traits of some sort, such as control by means of the strong arm, was the usual type. The leaders were chosen because of their superiority. When they transmitted this rule to their descendants, they established royal families and the rule of kings.

There have been leaders who lacked marked individuality, making up for its absence by mental shrewdness, cunning, or other characteristics. But they were handicapped by the lack. If one has an imposing personality, the chance of succeeding in life is much greater than if one does not have it.

On the whole, control by the individual is difficult to analyze, although it is always apparent. Its force is probably weakening, as our personal contact with others becomes less important, as the readers of speeches far outnumber the hearers of them; as the ability to write overshadows the ability to speak, and as control by law is supplanting control by force.

Ceremony.—The chief function of ceremony is to attract attention, to impress those present with the importance of the occasion. The wearing of caps and gowns is to call attention to the importance of the wearers and to create due respect for them. The wearing of robes and wigs in court, together with the ceremonies of opening court, has the same purpose. Initiation ceremonies in fraternal orders are to impress the novice with the importance of the step that he is taking. The marriage ceremony is to call attention to the seriousness of the vows and the change involved in the new relation. Ceremonies lend an air of mystery, even deceiving at times; but this effect is less pronounced than formerly. However, the control is no less effective if the onlooker or novice thoroughly knows the meaning of the ceremony; in fact, the result is often

more permanent, for a knowledge of the meaning makes the ceremony more significant. If an institution is necessary to society, ceremony performs a useful function by calling attention to it in this manner, and by thus helping to keep alive that institution. On the other hand, if the institution has been outgrown, ceremony may injure by prolonging its hold. On the whole, ceremony is a minor form of social control.

Some Modern Means of Social Control.—In recent years other forms of social control have come into prominence, which play an important rôle in controlling society. The more important will be summarized in succeeding paragraphs. (1) *Advertising.*—While there are many ancient examples of advertising, its chief development has come in since 1850 along with the increased development of printing. Now vast sums are spent yearly in advertising of all kinds, but particularly in newspapers, magazines, and on bill-boards. Advertising has become a profession, in fact, almost an art, and vast organizations have been built up, which employ thousands of experts, who make it a study and life-work. The psychology of advertising has been reduced almost to a science. Successful advertising attracts attention, arouses interest, attempts to convince, and thus elicit a favorable response. Another purpose is so to impress the memory that when the time comes, the reader will act in the way the advertiser desires. Advertising is of various kinds in order to attract or control different types of persons. Some advertisements are personal and familiar; others are dignified and discreet; some are persuasive, others command; some seek to intrigue or appeal; others to order or even nag us into acting.

Advertising not only convinces us so that we will act but keeps everlastingly at us in order to keep us in line and to prevent competitors from getting us into their folds. While advertising is primarily aimed to sell material goods, such as soaps, cigarettes, automobiles, and clothing, it is also used to sell programs and ideas. It

can be used as effectively to put over a political campaign, religious or educational program, as to carry out a selling campaign. It can win votes for a candidate, students for a school, contributions to an endowment campaign, or even souls in a revival, as well as sell pianos, cigars, patent medicine, or real estate. The difference is merely in the methods used. With the purging of dishonesty, misrepresentation and deception, advertising of course increases in importance and influence. The big thing in advertising is, of course, not merely to get people to buy soap, for example, but some particular kind or brand of soap; not new clothes but new clothes of one particular store; not to merely give money for education but to give to "dear old —— college." Here is where the definite control comes in. Advertising even creates new habits and customs as well as introducing or exploiting new styles. The beer drinking habit was largely the result of the tremendous advertising by the breweries; the modern cigarette habit is another illustration. While the advertisements are directed toward certain special brands, the cigarette habit has been firmly foisted upon us by huge corporations using vast sums for publicity. It is even educating the women into a widespread use of "the weed."

While advertising has built up great demands for certain brands or kinds of goods, and thus by building up vast establishments and concentrating upon a few special styles or types or sizes has so systematized production as to lower the cost of production and distribution, advertising has undoubtedly increased the cost of living. It has done this not so much by getting us to pay more for an article—which it has of course done at times—as to cause us to buy more, to buy before we were ready to buy. While there has to be of course some latent desire or want, this is generally stimulated artificially by the advertising and we usually anticipate the normal demand. This, in general, has tended to produce a higher standard of living but it has also caused extravagance and uneconomical purchasing. While it increases business it

discourages thrift. In the same way, advertising may stimulate or exaggerate other interests, such as educational, charitable or even religious ones.

(2) *Propaganda.*—Changes move too slowly for some people, or possibly do not move at all, hence pressure is used to bring about the ends desired. In a way propaganda is a form of advertising, only it is not open, frank advertising. In fact one of the prime requisites of successful propaganda is secrecy in regard to the real purposes or interests or even the identity of the spreaders of the propaganda. While some propaganda is open, frank and honest, most propaganda is "under cover." It can be used, even with "under cover" methods, in putting over a great and noble cause but can also be used with equal success to carry out selfish and even injurious programs or to defeat lofty and altruistic measures. The World War gave us striking illustrations of the use of propaganda in carrying out patriotic campaigns, such as the various Liberty Loan drives, the draft, food conservation, Red Cross drives, etc.; it also gave us illustrations of the other kind, such as the "smoke funds" sponsored by the tobacco trust. To be successful, propaganda should be sent out by some apparently disinterested party or organization. This method was well illustrated recently in the defeat of the attempt to ratify the Federal Child Labor Amendment by the National Association of Manufacturers. By organization of various subsidiary associations under names which would suggest organizations of farmers, patriotic societies, and the like, they flooded the country with literature, hired paid lobbyists, and thus delayed the ratifications of this amendment for many years, if not defeating it permanently, by bringing about adverse votes in the majority of our state legislatures. This propaganda deliberately twisted, misrepresented or confused the real purpose of the amendment. Through the farm organizations just referred to, the farmer legislators were taught that the amendment would prevent any farmer's child from helping on the farm. Other classes were similarly confused. The writer was particularly im-

pressed with the efficiency of this propaganda, when in his state—Colorado—the Daughters of the American Revolution openly came out and lobbied against the amendment, using in their arguments almost the exact words of the propaganda supplied by one of the subsidiary organizations of the National Association of Manufacturers.

In our Southern States the form of propaganda used was the old-time states rights argument, and the protection of our children against the greed of employers of child labor was represented as dangerous to the liberties of the people, as the taking away of the rights of the people in favor of the Federal Government, when the real state of affairs was that the very men who were putting out this propaganda were practically all members of the party which stood for centralization of power in our Federal Government. If the legislators had known that the people who were spreading all this propaganda were the employers of child labor, they would have immediately become suspicious and probably would have passed the amendment. But thinking that it came from disinterested interests they listened to it and turned a deaf ear to the National Child Labor Committee which strove for the passage of the amendment.[6].

Propaganda is also used by educational and religious organizations; but the expediency of this is questionable because sooner or later the real truth behind the propaganda gets out and the permanent effect is not always good. While it has been and is still used to a degree that would astonish most people, it is now getting into bad repute. In achieving its purpose it makes use of the press, especially the press which is controlled by large capitalistic interests, the cartoon, news letters or news service, magazine articles, the writing of text-books, especially for the

[6] In passing it might be mentioned that even the National Association of Manufacturers seem to have repented of the thorough job they did—or possibly were enticed into doing by their members who employed children—for this association soon after the defeat of the amendment came out for a child labor program, which included some minor reforms and really was an advance over the present situation in many states.

lower grades in our public schools, pictures, songs, movies, the radio, special demonstrations, speeches, lectures, and even fairy tales and similar stories to entertain children. All these must be used in as "disinterested" and "impersonal" a manner as possible, else suspicion or indifference will be encountered. The most effective way to put over propaganda, of course, is to appeal to the feelings and emotions, rather than the intellect, because the masses are best reached by this means. For these reasons propaganda is more fickle and dangerous than education, law, or other methods.

(3) *Slogans.*—Quite similar to and intertwined with advertising and propaganda is control by means of "slogans." The slogan is a sort of rallying cry; it is also an appeal and even presents a program. A slogan is of great use in winning a war as evidenced by Wilson's slogan, "Make the world safe for democracy." Its value has long since been recognized in politics, and finding a catchy slogan is one of the most important things in a political campaign. A football season without the usual "Beat ——" is hardly conceivable. Many a successful business has been built up on a catchy advertising slogan. Now firms even try to invent a new slogan each year if possible and their advertising value is always recognized. Any special campaign or program is partly won as soon as a good slogan is invented. To be successful a slogan should be short, generally between four and six words. Rhythm and pleasing sound count a lot. It has been often remarked that Americans never could have been so worked up over "Fifty-seven ten or fight" as they were over "Fifty-four forty or fight." Repetition, rhyme or alliteration help in slogan making. A slogan may be in the form of a pun or joke; it may arouse the curiosity or affirm something. These are especially good in advertising slogans. They may appeal to prejudices, or to class consciousness, as in the slogan, "Down with the capitalists." The slogan may be ambiguous, or its meaning may not be clear, as was once evidenced when a certain United States senator on being asked what the popular slogan of

"Americanization" meant promptly replied, "Damned if I know, but it is a good plank to run on." Such slogans as "Back to normalcy" and "True to the Faith" are merely typical illustrations of such ambiguous yet successful slogans. While effective, slogans are dangerous things to use for anybody can start one and nobody can stop it after it once gets started and nobody can argue with it. Their success is possibly best vouched for by the frequency of their use.

Advertising, propaganda and slogans, as well as some of the other means of control to be treated later, help make up public opinion and really could have been treated under that heading. They were merely singled out for special treatment, because of their importance and their separate use as means of control.[7]

Other Symbolic Means of Social Control.—Lumley in his work on "Means of Social Control" discusses especially the human symbol-devices employed in social control. Among the means mentioned by Lumley are those given below.

1. *Rewards.*—These have been used almost universally. The things given as rewards run the whole gamut of human desires and wants. They may range all the way from ribbons, wreaths, diplomas, and medals to wives, horses, estates, perpetual titles, and even kingdoms. They may be in the form of tips or presents like cigars, candy, or they can be positions, or promotions. They may be given to children, members of the immediate family, or foreign visitors, princes or potentates. The object is more or less the same, i. e., to control the actions of the recipient of the reward and the bystanders or onlookers. The real technique of control through rewards lies in the art of their giving. Rewards must be given in such a way as to attract attention, appeal to pride or vanity, so as to call the attention of people to the act which has been done as well as the reward given. They are generally accompan-

[7] See Lumley, F. E., *Means of Social Control,* 1925 (Century), for more extended treatment of these and other means of control.

ied with more or less ceremony or display; at least they should be in order to affect the greatest measure of control. Rewards are thus signs of social approval and cause both recipients and onlookers to strive harder and do the approved thing. Rewards are, however, more or less expensive and dangerous means of control. To be prized they must be scarce or valuable. This means skill in giving. If one strives and no reward is forthcoming, one is discouraged. If rewards are given too promiscuously they will either not be appreciated or they will lead to parasitism. They may even be anticipated or greater and greater rewards demanded. So, unless they are given with care and discretion they will become ineffective or too expensive to maintain. Yet they have been used from time immemorial in war, politics, family life, business and all walks of life and in all probability will continue to be used, possibly even more so in the future.

2. *Praise* is a means similar to rewards, only it is cheaper and easier to bestow. We all want approval on the part of our fellows, and praise is the expression of this approval in a hearty and sincere manner. It is the expression of thanks, commendation or of worship even, in the case of the superior. Like a reward, it is an extra and cannot be demanded, although it may be anticipated. It is even more universal than rewards and is found in all walks of life. It takes even high forms as in book dedications, formal resolutions, testimonials, epithets, sketches, reviews, poems and even hymns. It likewise controls the recipient and the onlooker by stimulating to greater activity and effort. It promotes social solidarity and friendship; and it operates quickly. To be effective it must be wisely given, not overdone. It can be an inspiration to commit crime or an evil act as well as meritorious acts. All persons can use it.

3. Similar to praise is *flattery;* in fact, flattery might be called undeserved or unmerited praise. Flattery generally goes from the lower to the higher, while praise is more apt to be in the opposite direction. Those on the outside flatter those who are "in" in order to gain some-

thing in return. This has always been particularly true of the behavior of courtiers and retainers toward rulers. It does not have to be "piled on thick" or be verbal praise; one can subtly flatter by listening, asking advice of superiors, copying their actions, playing upon their foibles or weaknesses, or even abusing or ridiculing their rivals. While most people fall for it more or less it is a dangerous means of control. Unless used with care and discretion it can be easily overdone and react against the user. It is a means of controlling the vain and egotistical where it is almost always sure to work. While insincere and seldom genuine, it does have some good effects. It makes life pleasanter as a rule and softens the worker's taskmasters so that they will let up in their requirements or soften their punishments. In general the lower classes have benefited by it. Because of this, women, slaves and children have been forced to resort to it in the past. So, while a poison, it acts also as a tonic. Also while playing a discreditable rôle, it frequently accomplishes much good. All can use it, humbugs as well as sincere persons; in fact, the former probably use it the most effectively. It can be overdone and may lead to distrust and antipathy.

4. *Persuasion* is a means of control, which almost everybody uses almost every day. It may be by voice or gesture or writing. It may be professional as used by the salesman or evangelist, or amateur, as used in everyday life. It is found in everyday conversation about the most trivial things; it is often formal as seen in the lecture, debate, or even court pleading. It may be jocular, jovial or serious and appealing to reason. It can use all sorts of appeals, such as appeals to pride, love, fear, sympathy, or stir up prejudices and hates. It is not only increasing in use but is steadily passing on to higher planes, appealing more to reason and the higher sentiments, and less to the lower emotions and prejudices.

Of a different type of control from those just mentioned are (5) *Gossip,* (6) *Laughter* and (7) *Calling Names.* Gossip may be on a high plane, such as "shop talk," professional gossip, society news, and even include scientific

information. But what is generally meant by gossip, and which really acts as a controlling force, is commonplace, superficial and even vulgar talk. It is generally news, which cannot be printed because of its unreliability. To increase its effectiveness and carrying power it is generally told in a secret or semi-secret way. It is effective and spreads because of the appeal to curiosity, vanity, fear and even as an escape from the monotony of life. It is also a device for group protection. While it is found among all races and classes it is the most effective among the ignorant and vulgar. While there are chronic scandal-mongers or peddlers of gossip often a story is spread the fastest by the innocent and well meaning. As a means of control it is often deadly and ruins many a reputation. To be effective, gossip must sound plausible and be either part truth or seem to be true. It can unmake leaders, or even drive people out of a profession or a business. While its area is more limited—except in the case of a nationally known person, such as a president, cabinet member or prominent lecturer or writer—it is often more deadly and effective than the newspaper, for it cannot be stopped or sued for libel. To avoid gossip, the average person is forced to follow the customary ways of the group and abstain from any act which would seem or appear to violate the code of the group. To be effective, gossip must be in accord with the prejudices of the group and with group approval, and generally be aimed at some person who is different from or possibly superior to the others. While deadly and mean at times, and always more or less provoking, it does keep people from violating the social code. *Laughter* is a means of suppressing variation or innovation. It intimidates and humiliates, for while all like to laugh at other persons nobody likes to be laughed at. By thus keeping down the gifted but sensitive and the new or strange, laughter is a means of repressing the wayward or the innovator. It protects the group from contamination of the new, both within and without the group. An effective means of killing a new idea, theory, style or even invention is to laugh it out of court. Many

a leader has thus been unseated or a perfectly valid theory or custom suppressed. While we all like a joke and appreciate humor, it is an open question whether it is wise on the part of a leader to joke or laugh much, for fear that he will not be taken seriously.

Calling names is a common, in fact, almost vulgar means of control. While persons are called names, which stand for honor or distinction, such as hero, champion, ace, scout, etc., as a means of control, it is generally the opposite. It is generally a means of leveling, of pulling down the great or successful or of driving out the peculiar or different. It is used by all classes and groups. Religious bodies have always made free use of it to hector, drive out or ruin those who differ with them by calling such names as heretic, infidel, atheist or agnostic. In political groups it has been a constant weapon and all sorts of ingenious names have been invented, such as scallawag, mug-wump, grafter, radical, red, traitor, pacifist, socialist and now bolshevist. In economic groups there is probably still greater variety, such as deadbeat, parasite, slave-driver, profiteer and scab. Military groups have their deserters and traitors. Males are called names referring to the opposite sex and females treated in similar manner. Other names refer to infants and still others to the aged. Cripples and the deformed furnish us names for people, and foreigners have possibly been dubbed with the meanest of all names. City people are given names by country people and the rural inhabitant by the city dweller. Many names are so ugly that they cannot be printed or even repeated in polite society. Calling names has been and in fact still is in many places used as a means of dispelling magic or avoiding the evil eye. But in general it is a vulgar and low means of control, although often used by the conscientious and well meaning. While names must to some extent fit the given person, or apply to some characteristic of his, or sound plausible for some other reason, many a good citizen has been ruined by them. A person gets a name of thief, radical, crook, etc., as a rule because to some degree he merited it or did something to

warrant it. But many a patriotic citizen has borne the name of traitor, spy, red, etc.; also many a conscientious, devoted Christian has been labeled infidel, atheist or heretic simply because he differed with some narrow-minded, bigoted or unscrupulous person who so labeled him. Many an honest or upright person has been ruined by similar means. The tragedy of course comes from the fact that these names are believed and repeated by well-intentioned but ignorant persons who thus spread the slander. A name is a warning, a sign of protest against a social change, and as such forces people to follow the traditional path. While a means generally used by the vulgar or common herd and not used much by the altruistic or high minded it cannot be ignored as a means of social control.

All the means of control just enumerated might also be classified under the head of public opinion for they are used in forming, expressing or carrying out of public opinion. They are also instruments of control by religion, custom, habit, education, and even the individual person.

Forceful Methods of Control.—Lumley enumerates other means of control involving resort to more forceful methods. Among these are *commands, threats,* and *punishment.* Commands are hurried, pointed ways of giving instructions. Their chief value comes in times of crisis, at some critical or crucial moment, when there is not time for argument or persuasion or rewards. They are of universal use, ranging in application from critical situations in children's games, everyday family life, the school, sports and business, to war and military life. Commands are given by gestures, speech or written messages. Even laws are written comands. Traffic signals are brief, hurried commands. When given vocally they must be given in a crisp, definite manner, generally with a rising inflection of the voice in order to obtain the quickest and best results. Written commands must also be definite and to the point for the same reason. To be carried out, there must be power behind the command, such as physical force or official authority, capable of bringing on the person

who does not obey physical violence or loss of position. Some commands we obey willingly and these are the ones which are really effective; others we outwardly obey but inwardly rebel against. Still others we refuse to obey because we do not recognize the authority behind the commands. The most effective commands are those which appeal to both the emotions and the intellect. While valuable and performing useful functions in society, commands have their defects. Some people rebel at them, who could otherwise be easily controlled. Because they offer an easy, quick way of control they are much used and their use often abused, especially by petty officials, who enjoy the sense of power and want to command. The control by threats is quite similar to that by commands, being a sort of half-way means between it and control by punishment. It is a sort of last recourse or last appeal before punishment begins. It is the formal warning before punishment starts. All avenues are now closed but two; to do as commanded, or suffer the consequences. It again is widely used in all walks of life, ranging from the home to the difficulties between nations. It may take the form of gestures, such as the shaking of the fist, the oral threat, the use of violent language, or it may be written. If oral, it should be given in a determined manner, implying obedience. To be effective it must have force or implied force behind it. For this reason physical size is an asset in this form of control. Official position has the same effect for the damage may be the loss of position, opportunity or reputation. Threats against loved ones or friends may at times be even more effective than against the person himself. This is a device used by kidnappers and blackmailers. Like commands, it is a dangerous weapon to use; in fact, it is more dangerous for it arouses resentment and revolt. The use of threats can be easily overdone. To be effective, punishment must be in sight and used if the command is not carried out. While a last resort measure in times of emergency, it requires discretion in its use and should never be used indiscriminately by amateurs. We have already considered punishment as

a means of enforcing law and we will later discuss it more fully in our treatment of crime. We merely mention it here as the culmination of forcible methods of social control.

Other Means of Control.—There are other means of control which might be mentioned, such as duty, illusion, and social valuations. Illusion controls largely by appealing to the imagination, by reference to some established idea or custom, or by appeal to the conventional, such as the propriety of going to Sunday School, or the inadvisability of going skating or fishing on the Sabbath. An appeal to group solidarity, as voiced by a political leader, to stand by the party and vote the ticket straight, is often quite effective. This appeal frequently breaks down, especially if the interest of the mass is opposed to our own selfish interest. An example is the evading of our personal taxes even though we know that thereby we make taxes higher; for we are interested in our own taxes much more than in the taxes of the community. While we are willing and eager that others shall conform, obey laws, and work for the interest of all, when it applies to us, the shoe fits too snugly and we are willing to slip it off for a more comfortable one. We are always glad to suggest to our neighbors what they ought to do, but are not always willing to follow the path which duty points out to us. Yet this spirit of duty and these appeals to a higher mode of living have their effect upon human action. They are reflected in our laws, customs, and habits and have a beneficent effect upon civilization. One of the means of control used by the clergy in all lands is emphasis on belief in a future world. Yet this control is probably growing weaker and is giving way to control by conscience and sympathy, or altruism. In other words, people are reasoning things out more for themselves than in former times; they are following more the dictates of their own intellects and consciences, and relying less upon the suggestion of others. Education is constantly supplanting these forms of control, because it is better able to serve society.

General Characteristics of Social Control.—Social control generally includes some form of class control. Laws were at first simply the arbitrary commands of those in power; then rulers laid down rules to suit their own convenience. Later the rights of the governed class gained recognition, although those in power still shaped the laws, consciously or unconsciously, in their own favor. The American Constitution, fine document though it is, was made by the capitalist class, working, however, for the best interests of the country at large; yet it over-emphasized the individualistic point of view and has been a hindrance to many reforms. The laws laid down in England by the Normans were in favor of the Normans, at first almost exclusively; later, after intermarriage took place and the Anglo-Saxons were recognized as deserving consideration, the laws favored them more. Each religious denomination or class, when in power, governs for its own benefit. The nobility in feudal times ruled in the interests of the nobility. In Rome the patricians ruled for the patricians, and in Greece the citizens paid little consideration to those who were not citizens. In fact, social control has taken the form of class control in some form or other almost universally; even public opinion, the most general of all the means of social control, is the control on the part of those who express their opinion, or by the majority or the minority who assert themselves. We even find public opinion consciously fostered and developed by a few who regulate it for their own benefit as far as they are able. This is the method used by the modern politician.

The question to be considered here is: If a class is superior, should it not control? In a competitive society the lower class is usually the inefficient one; that is the reason why it is the lower class. Now if the upper class is the superior class, why should it not rule? We might admit the validity of this argument, but remember that the ruling class should recognize the rights of the lower classes. But as soon as this class ceases to be the superior one, the question comes up with equal force, Why should it continue? Society generally answers in the negative by

overthrowing the ruling class and setting up another class which for a time is superior. The present royal families represent what were formerly the ablest people in Europe, but they have long ceased to be the ablest; yet custom, habit, and law, and public opinion in many countries, have kept them in power. They have been compelled, however, to submit to public opinion and to allow their power to be so curtailed that they have only the vestige of their former authority. The final question arises: Should the educated, the efficient, or the strong rule?

As has been suggested, social control changes; no one force remains in power forever. Neither does any system have the same weight as time passes. As the needs of society change we find that control changes accordingly. Ignorance demands a different kind of control than that needed among the educated; this is especially observed in the methods used by different religions, or by the same religion as the adherents become more enlightened. Christianity controls in a vastly different way from Judaism, out of which it grew, and the control of Christianity is itself constantly evolving. Control over the family is exercised by the churches in a different way, for churches now countenance divorce, when formerly they condemned it, thus recognizing the changing conditions in society.

It is the same with other means of control; laws are repealed and new ones made, because of new or different needs. Customs and habits are outgrown and discarded and new ones formed. Methods of education change. A hundred years ago the classics were emphasized, later the natural sciences, and now the tendency is to emphasize the social sciences, because of the recognition of different needs. Every few years a new method gains prominence and after proving its efficiency is recognized and adopted. Conflicts of interest in society bring about changes in the system of control, the old system being overthrown by a new. Inventions and discoveries bring about changes in methods of control, as illustrated by changes in methods of warfare. Recently the submarine and aeroplane have produced new problems. The railway and automobile have likewise brought in new habits, customs, and laws.

A system of social control should exercise authority with as little friction as possible; it should be pleasant rather than irksome. It should meet with universal or nearly universal approval, and should benefit rather than injure. It is much easier to lead than it is to drive; hence control should stir up as little resistance or resentment as possible. Leaders can only mold public opinion, religious ideas, and educational policies. To be effective, they must be supported by the masses. When the opinion of the masses is bad, when their sentiments are corrupted and their information incorrect, the point of view must be changed gradually and skillfully, in order to prepare the public for reform. A sentiment must be created in favor of a law before it can be successfully enforced. Control through fear exists even to the present day, but we find almost universally that such control is inferior in the long run to a system of control which exists because the people want it, and recognize its value. Social control should not stifle individual initiative, cripple individual effort, limit the selective process, or prevent the struggle for existence. In short, it should not interfere with those forces which have built up society, unless those forces are no longer useful and have become destructive. In fact, any system of social control should be able to stand upon its own merits, exist because it is advantageous, and cease to exist as soon as it fails to perform its mission. We shall always need social control. While we cannot expect perfection, our constant aim should be either to prevent retrogression or to bring about an added improvement in society. The methods used will in all probability be gentler and more congenial as we rise in the scale of civilization. Yet the control will always be there, and, in some degree or other, always be required.

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CHAPTER XX

SOCIAL PROCESSES

Many attempts have been made to analyze society. Some of these we have already considered in previous chapters. In this chapter we shall study the process or processes of social control or what is back of the means of social control. It will not be our purpose, however, to attempt a critical analysis or to develop a new theory or even to make a comprehensive survey of this interesting phase of social psychology, but rather to call the student's attention to a few of the leading attempts along this line and to indicate other lines of approach.

Professor Ross in his interesting work, "Principles of Sociology," outlines and discusses some thirty-four or more different social processes. Since this is the most comprehensive attempt to date in this line we shall spend a little time analyzing his treatment, dealing with many of these different processes, however, more briefly than they possibly deserve.

The first process enumerated by Ross is the process of *association* itself. Society is what it is, because of association. We could not live, at least live a human existence, without association with our fellows. We crave and demand companionship and we do not act normally without it. Our customs, habits and manners are social. Society is built on a sort of social sympathy or we-feeling. What we think others think of us, called by different writers the "mirrored" or "looking-glass self," affects or controls almost our every act. While some are much more responsive to it than others all are affected to some extent. We all want recognition and approval by others. Even the "independent" man, as Ross suggests,[1] is supported by

[1] Ross, E. A., *Principles of Sociology*, p. 116 (Century, 1920).

an imaginary approval. Because of social restrictions, especially in the past, woman has been more dependent upon social approval than has man. Man is essentially a social being and society itself is dependent upon the process of association.

Next to *association* Ross places the two processes *domination* and *exploitation*, the latter depending more or less upon the first for its existence. Ross contends that no social phenomenon is more frequent and persistent than domination. We have domination of (1) parents over children, particularly in patriarchal countries; (2) the old over the young, although this is now rapidly passing out; (3) husbands over wives, which again is also becoming a survival in modern civilization, although still prevalent in the Orient; (4) men over women, which while giving way is still persistent even in equal rights countries; (5) fighters over workers, which was so strong during the Middle Ages and still prevails in military orders; (6) well situated over the ill-situated; (7) conquerors over the conquered; and (8) rulers over subjects. Ross gives physical force, political inequalities, growing out of force, corruption, patronage, the political use of spiritual power, such as the divine right of kings idea, ignorance in which the masses are held, and the sharing of the benefits or spoils of domination as the means of carrying out such domination. While domination is of course sometimes justified it injures the character of both the dominators and the dominated. The real purpose of domination is of course to exploit the dominated. Ross gives four different kinds of exploitation: (1) sexual; (2) religious; (3) egotistic, or that which merely gratifies the ego; and (4) economic, which especially in modern times is the most important of all. This exploitation can be personal, by which the person who cares less can exploit the one who cares more, and institutional. The lines of exploitation are much like the means of domination, namely, (1) children by parents; (2) women by men; (3) the poor by the rich; (4) the working classes by the leisured classes; (5) the ignorant by the intelligent; (6) the unorganized

by the organized; (7) the laity by the priests, which of course is diminishing with increasing intelligence; and (8) the conquered by the conquerors.

Professor Ross even cites laws of exploitation, as, (1) *"social elements differ in original disposition to exploit"*; for example, those bred to leisure are more determined to exploit those who work than any other class. (2) *"Exploitation is more open, ruthless and stubborn between the unlike than between the like."* (3) *"The will to exploit lasts as long as the power to exploit."* (4) *"Masked exploitation outlasts open exploitation."* Any new element of outside exploitation will be opposed by inside exploitation because it recognizes the new element as dangerous to its continuance. Unless a combination is made between these two forces one will tend to stamp out the other, depending upon which is the stronger. A complex society affords all kinds of opportunities for exploitation and any thing which tends to equalize opportunities tends to break down the chances for exploitation.

Ross enumerates a whole set of competitive processes, such as *opposition, stimulation, antagonistic effort, personal competition, sex antagonism, class struggle* and *institutional competition.* Certain forms of opposition are beneficial, such as personal competition or rivalry for honors, prizes, and the general rewards of life, provided this rivalry or competition is carried on along approved lines or according to the rules of the game. Ordinary competition in business has always been recognized as the life of trade and is conducive to greater effort, greater efficiency and more up-to-date methods. On the other hand, ruthless, cut-throat competition which aims to put the rival or competitor out of business injures and may even be dangerous for it tends to monopoly and arbitrary control after the rival is disposed of or eliminated. Anything which adds to the hopelessness of struggle or effort, such as the closing of opportunities to rise or improve one's condition, makes opposition more dangerous for it forces it into using desperate means. On the other hand, any factor which allows the individual to improve his

situation by effort and merit is good for it stimulates people to do their best and not only thus benefits society but puts competition upon a more beneficial and safe basis. This principle is often overlooked by some who try to stifle criticism and strangle opposition from conscientious or lofty motives. As a result of these processes of opposition there is ushered in a new process of *adaptation,* or of adjustment to conditions. This, according to Ross, passes more or less through four different steps, beginning with toleration, or the permitting the other person to exist. This leads to the recognition that the other in some ways is as good if not better than oneself, and hence the second step or *compromise.* The next step is *accommodation,* or the adjustment to each other, through intermingling, improvements in communication, a common religion, language, law, and means of education. This results in the final step of *amalgamation* or the fusing together of the different elements into one mass.

Opposed to the processes of opposition are various processes, such as *co-operation, the organization of effort, the organization of will, the organization of thought* and finally the *deterioration of social structures.* Co-operation results from necessity, such as co-operation in war to repel an enemy, throw off a conqueror or even to conquer an enemy. It comes about from economic necessity or need, such as the construction of public works or mutual aid in time of need or disaster. It may be voluntary or compulsory. Organization generally starts in a sort of planless, haphazard manner and develops in different ways according to the task to be performed. In times of crisis it may require strict obedience, as in military establishments or in some religious orders. When the work is purely voluntary the means are different and the discipline mild or lax. Organization accomplishes difficult tasks which otherwise might never be carried out; it avoids duplication and makes use of persons of different talents and temperaments and reduces waste. On the other hand it builds up a machinery for administration and so increases the "overhead." There may even be heavy wastes

because of red-tape and constant checking and re-checking. Thus it may lead to formalism and the loss of efficiency. Organizations frequently become top-heavy, and may become an end instead of a means. Too much centralization is dangerous. Newer societies are generally more democratic than older ones but as they grow older governing cliques are formed and organizations develop, and majority rule disappears. Fighting groups especially get into the hands of a few. Thought structures, like schools, languages, customs, morals, songs, legends, ballads, and even philosophy are all products of co-operation, sometimes conscious but often unconscious. Social structures deteriorate by means of patronage, corruption, red tape, indifference, formalism, obsolescence, absolutism of those in authority and even the perversion of original social aims to private and selfish purposes. The institution in this manner is used to further the selfish purposes of those in authority.

Another group of processes work towards the formation of class lines, such as *stratification, the rise of gross inequalities, gradation, segregation and subordination,* and *equalization,* which reacts and tends to level up again. There seems to be an almost universal desire to be different, distinctive or above other people, to want to be recognized. This leads to caste, class lines and formation of strata in society. These class lines often owe their origin to accident, sudden changes, fortunate discoveries of wealth, and even to brutal or barbarous methods, such as conquests, strong-arm methods and even corruption and vice. As time goes on these questionable origins are forgotten. Then there develop or grow up conceptions that certain occupations or lines of work are honorable or preferred. Among these preferred lines of work have been fighting, religion, and later other professional services and still later business. Manual labor has always been degraded, although that is changing now with labor requirements in some professions, such as engineering, and personal services have always ranked still lower. Wealth is always looked up to, although some forms of wealth are considered more honorable than others, because wealth per-

mits of leisure, and the acquirement of polish, manners, and culture. Then after one has acquired status the next inclination is to close the door to keep others out or kick down the ladder, as Ross expresses it, by which they or their ancestors climbed up; hence the formation of closed classes. But closed classes degenerate when the advent of new blood is checked. Then as others try to rise there is the steady leveling process or *equalization.* Then we have *selection,* both natural and social.

Socialization, estrangement, individuation and *liberation,* in addition to *social control,* are processes which define the individual in relation to the group. By *socialization* is meant the *we-feeling* developed in the group through common associations, and the sharing of dangers or privations. It is the result of community of interests. *Estrangement* is the reverse process, being the result of differences of interests and experiences. *Individuation* and *liberation* are processes which tend to break down the group solidarity and to free the individual.

Commercialization or the subjection of other functions to the profits motive is a process which has invaded modern society to an unparalleled degree. It has invaded almost all of our institutions, such as the church, the state, the schools and even art. Opposed to it is the growing importance of the process of *professionalization* or the development of a professional spirit and the substitution of service for profit. While at times we stress professional ethics to the detriment of society, professionalization has raised standards, lifting former callings or occupations to the level of professions, with the pride of achievement and service, and is constantly elevating other lines of work. When the spirit of commercialism enters a profession standards generally fall and the profession sinks. Sometimes even increases in income lower the standards of a profession for they attract a class of persons who have not the high ideals but merely value the opportunities to make money. When a profession carries much honor and respect but little financial reward it attracts only those who cherish these high ideals and get their reward from the

satisfactions of service and honor. *Institutionalization, expansion, ossification,* or the process of hardening or becoming rigid, *decadence* or falling to pieces or wasting away because of the loss of leaders or the passing away of those forces which built up the institution, *transformation* and *reshaping* are other processes mentioned by Ross. By transformations he means those changes which *happen* and by *reshapings,* those which are *willed.*

While Professor Ross has given us a brilliant and extremely interesting treatment of social processes only time can tell just how important and lasting will be this treatment of sociology. Whether we accept these processes or others he has made a real contribution by calling our attention to this phase of sociology.

Professor Cooley [2] presents a different sort of treatment in his extremely interesting and valuable work "The Social Process." He begins with a general treatment of society, discussing social organization cycles, conflict and co-operation. Then he takes up the personal aspects of the social process, in which he treats in a temperate and optimistic manner such topics as opportunity, success, morality, fame, the competitive spirit, emulation, and discipline. Then he treats of degeneration, discussing its causes and some of the factors in the degenerative process. Then heredity and environment, survival types, the economic factors back of class lines, and poverty are treated in a similar manner. Then after a discussion of group conflict he takes up valuation as a social process.

Cooley uses valuation in the broad, rather than the restricted, economic sense. It is the way or method of measuring or rewarding or paying for the utility of an article or service. This utility depends upon the use and of course varies with the time and place. The valuation which society places upon its army or armaments in a time of war or danger is far greater than in times of peace. It is the same in regard to food in times of famine or want as opposed to times of abundance or surplus. At

[2] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Process,* 1918 (Scribner), esp. Part VI.

times one form of service is valued above another because of the utility to be rendered just then. In a new country capital is in demand to develop the natural resources and interest rates are high and laws are passed in order to protect property rights, even at times to the injustice of the worker or consumer. In older countries capital is more abundant and interest rates fall and laws are made to protect the worker. We place similar valuations upon institutions in accordance with our needs and their contributions to society and these in turn are constantly changing as the needs and utility of these institutions change. At times we place a high valuation upon religion and at other times a lower one; the same is true of government. These valuations may of course lag behind the real utility and contributions. A high valuation may long outlast the real use or utility simply because people have become accustomed to that valuation. In the same way an institution may be of great service to society but has not become known or recognized.

This process of valuation is seldom conscious, working by suggestion, influence and competition. The psychology of this valuation is intricate, being the product of many subtle influences. Organizations and institutions may have definite methods and processes of evaluating services; but these same institutions are valued, but by a more subtle and unconscious process; and the valuations placed on individuals and services are in turn reckoned in much the same manner. A government position at one time is very much valued and sought after but at another time will be less desired or even rejected; it is the same with positions under other institutions and organizations.

Pecuniary valuation is merely a phase or one form of the process of valuation. Society merely places a value in terms of money upon an object or service. This is merely its attempt to measure use, value or utility. At one time some form of skilled labor may be very highly rewarded because it is scarce and is therefore needed very badly but at another time the same labor may be a drug on the market because of changing conditions; the product

of that labor is not needed or wanted. These pecuniary values are also kept up or held down by custom and even business organization and effort. The values are the results of human wants, while supply and demand fix the pecuniary valuation. Pecuniary valuation is not the only way in which society places valuations on services or actions. It does so by honoring, rewarding, recognizing, paying respect to or shunning and ostracising. Pecuniary valuation is merely the crude attempt of society to put an immediate, negotiable value upon anything, which all can understand. This placing of values, according to Cooley, is an important social process.

In the last part of his "Social Process," Professor Cooley takes up intelligent process. Here he treats intelligence as the power to act successfully in a new situation, or the power to anticipate. While it is based on memories it makes free and constructive use of these. Thus it is a phase of the social process. It is a basis for selection and organization. Cooley also treats public opinion as a process rather than a consensus and rational control by means of standards. Art and social idealism are also given a place in his treatment of the social process. Thus while Professor Cooley has given us a fascinating and thoughtful treatment of social philosophy he does not hesitate to bring in ethics and weave in much of practical common sense. As a consequence, this work, like his others, is a more or less general treatment of social philosophy, it does offer many thoughtful suggestions for the analysis of the social process.

In addition to such more or less definite attempts to analyze the social process or processes, the whole trend of modern sociology seems to be towards a more careful or critical analysis of the detailed elements, the factors, and the functions of social processes. Thus the present drift in sociological study and investigation seems to be in the field of social psychology, even at times going over into the realm of pure psychology, much the same as that science invades the field of sociology in carrying out its studies.

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CHAPTER XXI

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

We are now prepared for a study of the organization of society. Before we could undertake this it was necessary to study not only the forces of environment which affect the life of man, but also man himself. We had to study human population, how man populated the earth and increased in numbers and power. We had to consider the formation and development of human institutions before we were prepared to study the structure of society itself.

We have seen that there have been many attempts to classify societies and to analyze social order and human association; in fact dozens of sociologists have tried it, each one working out a different system.[1] Giddings has developed an extremely elaborate theory of social organization, using consciousness of kind, concerted volition and, later, pluralistic behavior as the welding elements. Tarde has given us the imitation theory; Small the group interest theory; Ross his scheme of social processes; Ward, Gumplowicz and Ratzenhofer variations of the struggle theory; Durkeim social restraint; De Greef volitional contract. Others have of course advanced more or less distinctive doctrines on the subject. All are interesting and instructive, but each of them is more or less incomplete. Society is too complicated and intricate to be readily explained. The social process cannot be reduced to a single factor, or set of factors. We shall make no such attempt, but only indicate some of the conditions of social organization.

As we have already shown, society consists of a vast number of individuals, who live in groups, each person

[1] See Chapter I.

being a member of many groups at the same time. Each individual, as a rule, is a member of a family; of a local community, i.e., a city, town, or county; of a larger community—the state or nation; and then of a still more expanded group—humanity itself. These groups form a system of concentric circles, each larger one containing the smaller ones. In addition, each person is a member of other groups, which are not so symmetrical and regular, but which continually overlap. Each of these groups affects the individual and the individual in turn affects each group.

Social life, or human association, is a process of living together, the constant meeting of individuals under different conditions and associations. People work together, play together, pursue different interests or the same interests side by side or in widely different places and conditions. Some men are striving for wealth, others for fame and reputation by winning cases in court, writing works of fiction, making discoveries in science, digging canals, building sky-scrapers, making speeches, perfecting inventions, producing works of art, or building up institutions or industries. Some are plodding along, making a bare living by laboring hard in the mine or rock quarry, shoveling coal, digging ditches, tending a machine, herding cattle, or working on a farm. Others are making a more comfortable living by following some skilled trade, such as brick-laying, carpentering, blacksmithing, plumbing, or plastering. Some employ and others are employed. To some, wages are the sign of success; to others financial return is a mere incident, achievement and happiness being placed above money. Politicians and statesmen strive for power; business men and capitalists for control; teachers and scientists for reputations; and ministers to build up their parishes. Some are trying to elevate humanity through missionary work, social service and relief work; while others are preying upon society, getting all they can from it without return, as illustrated not only by our criminals but by grafters in politics and unscrupulous business and professional men. Some are pursuing call-

ings useful to society, while others are anti-social or are living lives which are injurious to society. A few spend their lives in valiant service to society; others merely strive to obtain all they can with the least possible effort; then still others, possibly the bulk of humanity, just drift.

While the majority of individuals are leading honest, industrious lives, there are many who are merely parasites. Some do work which is conspicuous, like that of the statesman and industrial manager, while others do work no less important but which is never noticed, such as the daily routine of the average housewife. Some are seeking recreation and amusement, while others follow, as a profession, the amusing of others. Some men are gifted by nature and others are handicapped. Some make good use of their opportunities, while others throw away all their chances. Some are attractive and congenial, while others are repulsive. Some are tall and some short, some large, others small. Some are altruistic and lofty-minded, while others are selfish and degraded. All have some good qualities and some bad. All, too, are subject to change, being selfish one minute and altruistic another, depending upon circumstances. Of such material is society made—a vast mass of persons of all grades, in all conditions of prosperity and happiness. Society might be likened to a machine with many intricate parts; or, better, to a mammoth factory with thousands of complicated and intricate machines; or to a vast collection of such factories, with all their machinery, which again is subdivided into parts. It would be impossible to complete such an analogy, for we never could settle upon an arrangement of the machines and their parts. As suggested in our first chapter, society is one mighty system of co-operation, where each person, consciously or unconsciously, performs his or her part of the process. Man cannot live unto himself; he is perforce an integral part of this complicated system.

Society is also made up of a large number of institutions, the evolution of some of which we have already studied. Every individual is born into a family group, which he

generally leaves to form a family group of his own. Most people are connected in some way with some religious institution, either by membership in some church organization, attendance at their services, contributing to their support or encouragement in their work. We are all members of some state and give our allegiance to some form of government. In the United States, for illustration, we have our Federal Government, to the laws of which we are subject. We also have our state, county and local forms of government and sets of officials. All of these affect us and help control our actions; yet they in turn are controlled by us. We have legislative bodies, which make our laws, executive branches which enforce or carry out these laws, and a judiciary which interprets the laws, adjusting and settling disputes and difficulties as well as punishing the violators of these laws. In fitting into such a system we generally affiliate or unite with some political party, such as Republican, Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, etc. We have our educational institutions, both public and private, extending from the infant or kindergarten schools through the colleges, graduate and professional schools, to say nothing of the almost countless variety of special schools for art, music, business, and all sorts of training and cultural education. Most of us are affected by some of these in some form or other, generally attending several of them during one's life. In addition we have many other educational and uplift institutions, such as libraries, museums, etc. We all have to make a living and as a result economic institutions or systems are built up, such as slavery, serfdom, feudalism and capitalism. Under capitalism we have factories to make goods, business establishments, both wholesale and retail, to sell them, warehouses to store them, railroads and other means of transportation to move them to where they are wanted, banks and other financial institutions to finance their production and distribution, and all sorts of commercial organizations, like chambers of commerce, credit men's associations, advertising associations, and organizations of workmen such as trade unions, shop committees, etc., all

pursuing their special objects. All these are merely parts of a great system or institution. Most of us fit into this in some manner, each one of us doing our little part, for which we receive a medium of exchange, called money, which we exchange for the articles or services which we need or want. In addition to all of these, we have a vast number of social organizations or institutions, such as fraternal orders, charitable organizations, clubs, and associations. Some of these are permanent, others are temporary. Some are strong and powerful, others are weak and transitory. Thus society is a vast network of organizations and institutions. These are constantly being made and unmade. Yet they all affect the actions of individuals. They help to make up the social organization. In fact, such is social organization.

Society is a moral and intellectual organism, an organism which is the result, not of any definite form of compact or agreement, but of progressive creation, a result which has been achieved through experiment, struggle, and the survival of the fittest and best, not only of individuals but of ideas, ideals, interests, and institutions. Individuals, groups, nations, and races have carried on their work, done their part, and passed away. This is all the result of a gradual process—a steady accumulation and reorganization.

Communication.—The channel by which achievements have been preserved and handed down to later generations has been chiefly that of communication—that is, the transmission of thoughts, ideas, words, attitudes, expressions of the face, and the like. We communicate to-day by means of writing, printing, telephone, telegraph, speech, signal, radio, cable, railroad, steamship, submarine, and airship. Through communication man is able to come into contact with others distant in space and time. He benefits from the thoughts and feelings of others. "A word is a vehicle, a boat floating down from the past, laden with the thought of men we never saw; and in coming to understand it, we enter not only into the minds of our contemporaries, but into the general mind of hu-

manity continuous through time.'' [2] When a person has a new thought he is able to write it down, and not only recall it when needed but pass it on to others. Before writing was invented, the past had to be preserved by means of oral tradition and memory, both uncertain methods; and as a result much was lost. Not only has writing preserved the thought of the past, but it has made civilization more rapid and history possible, for without writing no accurate records of the past could be kept. The invention of printing, and later that of the linotype, have made knowledge democratic by placing it within the reach of the common people; whereas, before, education was expensive and within the reach of only the wealthy. Books have brought to us the wisdom of the past and have enabled the exceptional men, no matter what their status, to advance themselves and to uplift society.

But before man had invented books, printing, alphabets, or even speech, he communicated with his fellows by means of gestures, sounds, and signs. This communication was crude and difficult, yet by means of it he was able to advance and to reach that stage where achievement and progress were more rapid.

Art has been a means of communication, conveying ideas and emotions by means of pictures, statues, mosaics, friezes, and all forms of decoration. Music has perhaps to a still greater degree conveyed emotion and ideas. It has served as a means of progress as well as a means of control. Both art and music help to hold people together by imparting similar thoughts and feelings to the mass.

Modern means of communication are widely different from, and more complicated than, former methods. The newspaper brings to the doors of people of all classes and stations in society the same or much the same information, giving a vast fund of information of all sorts, sometimes inaccurate and perverted, yet information nevertheless. Modern communication by means of permanent records is independent of time. Also by means of its speed it is

[2] Cooley, Charles H., *Social Organization*, p. 69 (Scribners, 1909).

able to overcome space; in fact, modern news travels faster than the earth rotates on its axis. The writer remembers learning through the columns of a newspaper of the recent assassination of a Japanese premier, in the morning preceding the evening on which it occurred!

The invention of wireless telegraphy not only adds to the speed but aids in the diffusion of knowledge. New and rapid methods of communication have made modern civilization possible; they have given human nature the opportunity to expand and to express itself. We can almost tell how advanced in the scale of civilization a country is, by the development of its means of communication: how many letters and papers are sent; books sold or read; miles of railroads, trolleys, and street-car systems possessed; the number of telegrams sent and of telephones in use in proportion to the population, proper allowances being made in all cases for differences in density of population and physical environment. That country in which the mass of the population is uneducated and lacking in proper means of communication is bound to be backward; and that country where the mass of the population is educated and able to communicate with each other with ease is certain to be advanced. Communication not only regulates the advance in knowledge but affects all the institutions; it determines the character of the government, the nature of the religion, the progress of arts and letters, and in fact all phases of the life of man. Communication is the means of achieving progress, or rather of passing it on to others. Man is continually imitating his fellows, but there has to be communication before there can be imitation.

Through communication, customs and habits develop which later control our actions. They develop much the same as do the institutions in society—e.g., religion, law and government, education, and the family. We take these customs and habits much as a matter of course, little thinking that by our adhering to them we are perpetuating them; or that by protesting against them and refusing to observe them we are breaking them down. In the same

way, each individual is working to keep up or break down the various institutions in society. If he supports religion, he helps keep it up; if he has nothing to do with it, he helps to weaken its control over society. If he supports law and order, pays his taxes, and votes on election day, he upholds law and government; but if he looks upon laws as restrictions only to be evaded, fails to vote on election day, and escapes taxation whenever possible, he undermines the authority of law. Whenever he buys goods he contributes to the support of certain industries, whether they are monopolies or small concerns. If he buys the product of sweated industry or child labor, he helps to perpetuate those evils. Consciously or unconsciously, each member of society is throwing his influence towards the formation, development or destruction of the habits, customs, and institutions which control society.

Society may be called the product of an economic, a religious, an ethical, a biological, a psychological, or possibly even a philosophical process, for it is all of these in one. All are constantly at work in society. Each individual has all these interests welded into his make-up and is working for or against them. Each person is influenced by every other person with whom he comes into contact, whether the contact be physical, mental, or emotional; whether he sees the other person or reads one of his books; whether he hears one of the other's ideas or is influenced by one of his acts. That act may be by his actual presence or by a vote in a meeting of a board of directors thousands of miles away, or by instructions to some employee, working perhaps in another state, city, or continent. The person affected may never hear of the vote or instructions, or for that matter he may not know that there ever was such a person voting or giving instructions; yet he may by that act be vitally affected—may lose his position, his fortune, or even his life. Society is too complex to admit of classification according to any one criterion. Society consists of individuals living in certain groups which are affected by certain interests and controlled by customs, habits and institutions. It is in these

things that sociology should interest itself, as well as in an attempt to catalogue and classify the various factors in society. It is these interests, forces, and institutions that we have made the chief object of our study.

Social Classes.—Society is also made up of social classes, which are determined by lines more or less sharply drawn and more or less rigidly enforced. In some countries there are the regularly defined castes, as in India. In others there are the different social classes, as the nobility, the middle class, and the peasants or serfs, which were found in France before the French Revolution, or in Russia until the recent upheaval. In some countries individuals may move from one class to another, while in others this transfer has been strictly forbidden. In India such a movement has been impossible, one never being permitted to change his caste. In other countries, such as Russia before the revolution, social conditions made such a movement impossible. Under feudalism the serfs went with the land, in the same manner as the buildings and improvements, and no opportunities were given them to change their condition. Even in countries with highly developed governments, where law and justice have reached a high plane, like that found in Rome, social classes have been rigidly formed and the lines cruelly drawn. While the citizen enjoyed certain rights and privileges, there was a vast slave population which had no rights or privileges at all, its members being bought, sold, abused, wronged, beaten, tortured, and even killed at the will or whim of their owners. Also all citizens were not on an equal plane, for there were different social strata: the wealthy, who were waited upon by their slaves and who controlled the state; and the rabble at the other end of the scale, who were poor—so poor that they were even fed, clothed, and amused at public expense. In early Rome when luxury and vice were not so rampant and the sterner virtues prevailed there were social classes. The patricians represented the wealthy and, unmindful of the interests of the plebeians, who were the poor or laboring classes, managed with a high hand the affairs of

the state, till they were compelled by the plebeians to grant greater privileges. The plebeians became the common soldiers, while the patricians furnished the officers and commanders. Even in democratic Greece, where the city-state reached its greatest development and where there was perhaps the greatest liberty known in ancient times, there were social classes. Citizenship was limited to the natives, foreigners being excluded from all rights. Even this citizen-equality was founded upon a condition of slavery, under which the slave was devoid of all rights. Such idealistic philosophers as Plato argued that slavery was a natural condition, resting upon the inequality of human nature. In early Egypt the priests and rulers were exempt from all taxes and were given all privileges, while the common people had no privileges and were compelled to serve in the army when needed and to pay all the taxes; furthermore they were not permitted to improve their condition.

These social strata have resulted largely from conquests, though to a large extent they have been based upon the inequality of natural abilities. But they have always existed, at least since history began. While with primitive man inequality exists, it is generally individual inequality, resulting from individual superiority, either physical or mental. But as soon as social organization is developed we find social classes. One class takes more privileges than another and exempts itself from certain unpleasant duties, particularly those involving physical labor, and appropriates the pleasant tasks, such as political leadership, the priestly offices, and the management of affairs.

As civilization advances and life becomes more intricate, these different classes increase in number and complexity. Innumerable attempts have been made to break them down and to form societies in which there will be no classes and in which all will be on the same plane. Communistic settlements have been established, but sooner or later they have lost their communistic principles or have broken up. Reformers have stirred up antagonism to existing ruling

classes and have either been put down or have overthrown those ruling classes; but even when the ruling classes have been destroyed, sooner or later other classes rise up to take their place. It seems to be impossible to prevent the formation of such classes; in fact, there is a great deal of truth in the argument that such divisions are necessary to society itself. The modern tendency is to recognize class distinctions, but at the same time to allow individuals to move from class to class, provided they are capable of so doing, and to prevent any one class from oppressing another for the purpose of disturbing this freedom of movement. Social classes will exist so long as there are differences in human nature and inequalities of individuals. This inequality, however, will not necessarily depend upon the class but upon the individual.

While in the United States class lines are less distinct than in most countries, we have our social classes just the same. Each locality has what it calls "society," more or less exclusive. Lines are drawn according to occupation, a person's calling either admitting or debarring him from certain circles. We have classes drawn upon lines of wealth or income; the ranks of these groups are constantly shifting, according to economic prosperity. Admission to the so-called "society" depends in most cases upon one's financial rating or ability to spend. Again we have our professional class or classes, including lawyers, teachers, doctors and dentists. Distinguished members of these professions are admitted to and even sought by all classes, yet the members of the professional classes associate more or less together because of common interests and desires. The skilled workers, such as carpenters, masons, and bricklayers, herd together because of like interests, and they in turn form what might be called a social class which considers itself decidedly above the common laborers and yet in turn is looked down upon —or at least has been in the past—by the clerks, small traders, and salaried persons in industry and commerce, even though the skilled mechanic may earn double their

wage. Clerks and salesmen are, in turn, slighted by the big business men: the manufacturers, capitalists, bankers, brokers, and large merchants.

While in the United States none of these classes controls our government, at least not directly, although all exert an influence, these class lines are manifest. While individuals, by sheer force of will power and ability, are often able to throw off the shackles of their classes and mount to the class above them, or even to the top rungs —or be compelled to fall from one class to another because of the lack of ability—the classes themselves are more stable, their members as a whole remaining together. These classes are often arrayed against each other and at all times manifest class feeling and sympathy. Many attempts are made to arrange the social classes upon a scale of rank, such as the "upper," "middle," and "lower" classes; but such classifications are always inadequate and are consequently subdivided into such orders as "upper middle" and "lower middle" classes. But the mass is in a constant ferment, and any such classification is extremely hard to make, and even when made soon becomes antiquated. Social classes are the result of social interests, and rise or fall with the changing importance of such interests. When the military interests are paramount, the military class forms a high social class; and when economic interests are of chief importance, wealth is an important determiner of social classes; and so on with the various classes, the position of the class depending to a large extent upon the importance of the interest represented.

The value of social classes is often assailed and as often defended. Frequently classes are based upon conditions which have passed and upon needs which no longer exist; but, on the other hand, social classes seem to be an inevitable, if not indispensable, part of social machinery. The condition often brings injurious results to society—for instance, it is detrimental to society to have a slave class which has no privileges, or a working class which has at best only a chance to make a bare living and which

is constantly on the verge of distress. It is bad to have one class living in luxury and another in wretchedness. Yet, on the other hand, if one class produces more and is thus more valuable to society, it is only right that it should receive greater reward and be given a higher social position. While it is undeniably bad for society to have a condition where it is impossible for the individual to rise out of a lower class and enter into a higher one, it is only right and just that the individual who accomplishes more, and is more valuable to society than another, shall receive more both of the world's goods and of social prestige. While hard and fast social classes are undoubtedly bad and while more or less injustice is bound to occur, this is society's method of rewarding service. As we discovered in the last chapter, social control is carried out by means of class control. In the same way social valuation is manifested by class divisions.

Aim and Purpose of Society.—The aim of society is to promote social well-being. When it comes, however, to defining just what is meant by social well-being, there is often a great difference of opinion. Though the aim must be the greatest good to the greatest number of persons, that which is for the greatest good on one occasion may not be for the greatest good on another. At one time protection and safety may be the greatest need, at another time invention and discovery, at still another industrial and commercial development, at a still later time progress in literature, science, and education. The procuring of food may be all important at one period, at another the solving of some other problem, such as the expansion of territory.

Society must strive for the realization of the powers of self-development of the individual, but an ideally perfect society is of greater importance than the perfect individual. An ideal society is not a society where one individual is sacrificed for another, where one class is highly developed and another is held down in bondage. Society must not be content with resting upon its past achievements, as has been the case in China, but must be

constantly struggling to advance. Social perfection can never be achieved; yet society must never stop but must keep on achieving; constant progress is the law of life to society. Society must continue to create more perfect adjustments among its members. It must enable each person to fit into the social fabric in a more perfect and useful manner. This does not mean necessarily personal equality, because individuals do not have equal abilities and powers; it does mean equality of opportunity. Society is steadily striving, or should be striving, to give each person the opportunity to do his best and to contribute the most to the world. In other words, it is attempting to function in the best possible manner.

Society must strive continuously to produce better forms of government—governments which will serve society in the best possible manner. Just now the tendency is towards democratic and socialistic forms of government, or those which allow the greatest amount of liberty and equality of opportunity. The aim of society is to develop the individual so that he can govern himself and thus make the forces of control less irksome. In religion the tendency is to allow greater freedom and the privilege to worship as one sees fit, and to enable each person to work out his own beliefs, rather than have another's theology forced upon him; this means greater democracy in religion. Another aim is more enlightened public opinion, so that its control will be more beneficent. Loftier ideas of morals, higher ethical codes, and more useful customs and habits are also among the aims and purposes of society. Greater justice between individual and individual must also be achieved. Philosophers at various times, from Plato down, have worked out utopias and ideal forms of society, but most of these schemes seem ridiculous to us, because we have passed on to conditions of society far in advance of these time-worn conceptions. Reformers have tried in vain to establish model communities based upon ethical or idealistic principles, after the order of the Oneida Community or Brook Farm, but these nearly all failed. At the same time society as a whole has

been steadily advancing. Progress is constant and purposeful, not accidental; and while there are frequent lapses and constant reversions, society is steadily progressing.

Social Maladjustment.—We have been studying the interests and organization of society, and in general considering its achievements, its progress, and its success. But society is not always successful in its attempts; it sometimes fails. Instead of happiness, sorrow and misery are often found. Instead of plenty and comfort, which are constantly being made more possible with the increase of inventions and the development of industry, we often find want and starvation. Instead of fewer hours of labor, which is the general tendency, we often find a work day beyond endurance with little rest, relaxation, and recreation. Side by side with our higher codes of conduct, which are steadily being developed, we still find crime, vice, intemperance, and lack of control. These are all due to maladjustments of some kind, sometimes caused by society itself, and sometimes persisting in spite of all the efforts of society to eradicate them. It is to this part of sociology that we now turn, taking up the leading forms of maladjustment: poverty, crime, immorality, and defectiveness. It is this phase of sociology which is often given chief prominence, in much the same way that sickness attracts more attention than health, even though health is the general rule and illness the exception.

These phases of sociology attract attention, because of the need of corrective efforts and the opportunities for service they represent; whereas the natural organization of society is overlooked, because it is thought to need no attention. Social maladjustment is only one phase—and an unnatural phase at that—of society, and therefore it is only one branch of sociology.

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Part VI

SOCIAL PATHOLOGY

CHAPTER XXII

POVERTY

Poverty a Condition of Maladjustment.—Most of the problems of society are the results of maladjustment, and the most striking and important of these problems is that of poverty. While some countries are barren and unproductive, often countries which are rich in natural resources have poverty to an excessive degree. China and India are examples of this. Also the wealth that has been produced and is available is generally unequally distributed. Indeed at the very times when the conditions of poverty have been the worst (with the exception of famine and disaster) fortunes and landed estates have generally been the most highly developed. When the provinces of Rome were impoverished in order to pay taxes, wealth was pouring into Rome, fortunes were being piled up, extravagance reigned supreme, and riot and waste were the order of the day. In France before the French Revolution, when the peasants were in desperate economic conditions, the lords and nobles were living in idleness and riotous extravagance. At the time of the industrial revolution in England, when there was so much misery and poverty and thousands were literally starving, fortunes were being amassed by the owners of the mills. In India, where there is so much wretchedness and misery, and almost the entire population is living on the poverty line—to such an extent that when a crop fails thousands die of starvation—the native princes and aristocracy have fabulous fortunes stored away. The same is true of China, as it has been of all countries both past and present; where we find great wealth we find great misery. When in our own South the large plantations were developed at the expense of slave labor, the poorer whites were forced back

into the sandy, unproductive foot-hills. In all our great cities where wealth is piled up, there we find the greatest poverty; the larger the city and the greater the wealth, the worse the poverty. One has only to turn to the works of Jacob A. Riis, to Jack London's *People of the Abyss,* or to Booth's *Life and Labour of the People of London* to get ample proof of this. Again in the works of Dickens and Victor Hugo are given woeful pictures of past conditions.

Every now and then we hear of overproduction of a certain commodity, such as shoes, cotton goods, woolen goods, furniture, and the like. Men are thrown out of employment and demand is still further curtailed. At the same time that this so-called overproduction occurs, there are thousands of people who are in need of these very commodities. Men are in need of shirts when there is an overproduction of cotton; children go barefooted when there is an oversupply of shoes; men and women are in need of warm clothing when woolen goods are a drug on the market. At the same time these people are out of work and cannot earn money to purchase the needed articles, or are working hard and yet cannot earn enough to buy them. While some are starving, others are wasting food. While some have not a dime for food, others spend five or ten dollars for a dinner, then tip the waiter another dollar for bringing them a meal at that price. If fortunes were leveled, it would be only a question of time until the same condition existed again. But still if our economic machinery worked as it should, there would be opportunity for all to make a living; dire poverty would be rare. Some people would make more than others because they are worth more; but our industrial system should so work that it might be possible for every able-bodied person of normal intelligence not only to make a decent living for himself, but to support a family of average size, and thus contribute his part to the propagation of the race. Nearly always when men are out of work there is work which needs to be done and commodities which should be produced. Really constructive efforts to solve the problem

of poverty must take this condition of maladjustment into consideration, and try to remedy the economic situation rather than merely relieve the distress and misery.

What Is Poverty?—The question presents itself, what is poverty really? When is a person poor? We may answer in the first place that poverty is largely a state of mind. A Kentucky mountaineer may be considered rich if he owns one cow and a three-room cabin; a negro may feel rich if he has "four bits" in his pocket; while at the same time a capitalist may commit suicide when reduced to his last million, for fear of the disgrace of becoming poor. An Italian peasant returning to his native land with five hundred dollars in his pocket is considered wealthy, while a count with large estates may be considered poor if he does not have enough money to keep up those estates. We, however, generally regard people as poor when they lack the common necessities of life, such as proper food, adequate clothing and shelter, and a hope of maintaining these in the future with some degree of certainty. We shall in this book consider as poor only such persons, thus adopting the restricted sense of the term.

A pauper is one who receives aid from the state in some form or other. A person does not have to be a pauper in order to be poor, and unfortunately he does not always have to be poor to be a pauper. One may be in dire poverty and still be independent, and one may be rich and a pauper. Every once in a while we hear of a person's dying in an almshouse leaving behind him a fortune which nobody suspected that he possessed. Thousands of dollars have been found in the possession of people in almshouses, or of persons helped by the town.

In addition to poverty and pauperism there is the more inclusive condition of dependency. This has been divided by Gillin into natural, customary and legal dependency; also into normal and abnormal dependency.[1] These of course overlap. Dependency includes the dependency of

[1] Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, Chap. III (Century, 1926).

children upon their parents, wives upon their husbands, which are both legal and natural; and of aged in infirm parents upon their children. It also includes the dependency of members of organizations, such as lodges, churches and institutions when in trouble, as it also does those who are dependent upon the town, county or state, thus practically taking in all paupers but of course not including all of those in poverty. Much of dependency is perfectly natural and normal, such as the dependency of an aged or incapacitated parent upon a child or children previously reared and supported or even of such a person upon blood relatives who are able help. While such dependency may be inconvenient and even humiliating, it generally is not a serious social problem. In this work such dependency will not be treated except as it becomes a phase or condition of poverty.

Poverty depends to a great extent upon the standard of living. What might be considered poverty in the United States might be looked upon as affluence in India, China, or Syria. Standards of comfort differ. We in the United States regard the education of children as absolutely necessary, while in China or India such education might be considered a luxury restricted to the wealthy. We consider three meals a day essential; other people might get along on less; while in Scandinavia and Germany at least four and sometimes as many as six or seven have been considered necessary. We consider separation of the sexes in a dwelling requisite; such is not the case in some places. In some countries children are expected to help support the family. We object to such a condition and demand that it be made unnecessary. So poverty depends largely upon custom and habit.

Poverty is not necessarily a lack of commodities. The Georgia "Cracker" is not an object of charity. What he needs is not help but a change of ideas. The Kentucky mountaineer or the negro does not realize that he is poor. Such people have to be brought to a realization of their condition before they can be made enthusiastic over changing or remedying it. On the other hand, we find people

denying their physical needs in order to supply mental ones. We see students working their way through college, even at times going without proper food or suitable clothing. We see parents sacrificing in order to send their children to school. We see people going hungry that they may give money to the church. Religion and custom often dictate wants. We see immigrants and negroes spending all they possess on a funeral, in order that the deceased may have as imposing a funeral as some one else. The same custom is followed with weddings, the future being mortgaged for years to come to pay the expenses. We find girls wearing thin clothing in winter and furs in summer. We find people going without proper food in order to dress stylishly. In fact we see many wants which are foolishly placed above the real necessities of life. Again we find some who deny themselves for others. So poverty is often the result of foolishness and again the result of altruism.

But society is continually advancing and standards are constantly growing higher. With this advance goes an increasing demand for economic goods. This makes the strain greater and the danger of poverty larger. The poverty line is thus drawn higher than previously and, while wealth and prosperity may increase, the danger of becoming poor may be as great as ever—in fact may even increase. We generally rank as poor those who are unable to maintain the minimum standard of living as set by the customs of the day.

Extent of Poverty.—Poverty has always existed and doubtless always will exist; it only differs in degree. We find poverty in all countries, among all classes, and in all stages of civilization. There was poverty in early Egypt, ancient Babylon, Assyria, and Persia. There was poverty in Judea at the time of Christ. Mohammed tells of poverty. There is poverty among savages, people being considered poor according to their own standards. The Australian aborigines are miserably poor, having great difficulty in providing themselves with food, although among them clothing and shelter are hardly considered

necessary. Dire poverty exists to-day in China, where life among the masses is one terrible struggle for existence; also in India, where a crop failure means death to thousands. In our study of immigration we found that poverty not only holds the Italians and Slavs down in a state of misery and distress, but also keeps them from rising to a higher state of civilization, thus causing them to accept a lower standard of living and so become detrimental to our civilization.

But poverty as a great overwhelming problem is not confined to the past or to countries that are below us in civilization. It is present to-day in the most civilized of nations. It is not confined to a few unfortunates but affects a large percentage of the population. Booth estimated that thirty per cent of the people in London were in poverty, and yet he drew an exceedingly low line for poverty. Rowntree, after an investigation made in York in 1899, finally concluded that 27.84 per cent of the population of York below the servant-keeping class were in poverty—that is, were "living in a state of poverty (total earnings insufficient to supply adequate food, clothing, and shelter for the maintenance of physical efficiency) or so near to that state that they are liable to sink into it at any moment."

Hunter[2] asserts that, in 1903, twenty per cent of the people in Boston were in distress, and that nineteen per cent of the people in New York State in 1897, and eighteen per cent of those in New York City were in the same condition. He also estimated that fourteen per cent of the families in Manhattan were evicted every year for non-payment of rent, and that about ten per cent of those who die in Manhattan have pauper burials. He conservatively estimated that not less than fourteen per cent of the people in prosperous years and not less than twenty per cent in bad years are in distress. Of course this does not mean that that many people receive charity. In 1910

[2] Hunter, Robert, *Poverty*, pp. 20–27 (Macmillan, 1904).

there were 84,198 paupers in the almshouses of the United States or 8.5 persons per 10,000 population. By January 1, 1923 this number had fallen to 78,090 or 7.1 per 10,000 population. From statistics compiled by the American Association for Organizing Family Social Work, covering 204 cities with a population of 29,744,000 for 1922, it was found that about 3 per cent of the population were helped by private agencies.[3] This means that probably about five per cent of our population—with higher percentages in hard times—regularly receive aid from relief agencies some time during the year.[4] When we add to this those who receive help from friends and neighbors and those who, while in need, do not receive aid at all, we will see that Hunter's estimates are not far wrong, in fact they were probably conservative when he made them. While the ratio of the recipients of aid has not fallen much because of the greater efficiency of our agencies, coupled with their greater resources the effect of the World War upon poverty and dependency in the country has been to cause a reduction. At least since the war we have slightly less destitution and misery in spite of an increase in our general standard of living. How much the adoption of prohibition has had to do with this it is hard to estimate, nor do we know how much influence must be attributed to our increase in wealth and general prosperity. The effect upon England has of course been the opposite. The World War not only piled up terrible debts but injured the economic and industrial position of Great Britain. So in spite of the beneficial results of her social insurance system dependency, pauperism and poverty have increased, largely as the result of widespread unemployment because of the loss of former markets.

Distress is largely seasonal; it is much greater in winter

[3] Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, rev. ed. 1926, p. 40, quoting from Swift in *The Family*, July, 1923, pp. 131–3.

[4] To the number of those receiving aid from private agencies and almshouse inmates must be added those who receive public aid in their own homes or are boarded out at public expense.

than in summer because of the greater demands, due to the season, for fuel, clothing, and food. Work is often less abundant, and the struggle to make both ends meet becomes keener. The average laborer's family can keep going during the greater part of the year, but it lives so near to the poverty line that any sudden disaster like unemployment—even if temporary—accident, or sickness quickly forces it below the line.

Objective Causes of Poverty.—By objective causes we mean environmental factors lying outside of the individual, and to a great extent beyond his control, although not wholly so. As previously stated, poverty is caused largely by maladjustments in society, and the causes are for the most part beyond the control of the individual. While it is very difficult to classify the causes of poverty, the following classification may prove useful:

1. *Insufficient Natural Resources.*—Poor soil, lack of rainfall, too cold a climate, or the inability of nature to yield man a living, are potent factors. Such countries as Tibet, Scotland, Arabia, Labrador, northern Siberia, and the Sahara Desert are regions which would come under this category. Many parts of the United States yield a poor return, as the hilly districts of New England, the Carolinas, Arizona, and Nevada. Man is conquering many of these difficulties; he is supplying the lack of rainfall in many places by irrigation; and systems of dry farming make it possible to raise crops with a small amount of moisture. By a proper choice of grains regions far to the north are made productive, such as Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia. This cause of poverty the ingenuity of man is continually conquering, either by compelling nature to produce almost against its will, or by changing the character of the local industry, such as the supplanting of agriculture in New England by manufacturing and commerce.

2. *Unhealthful Climatic Conditions.*—Poor climatic conditions are illustrated by regions which are subject to diseases like malaria, yellow fever, cholera, hook-worm,

and sleeping sickness. Such regions as Panama, Cuba, the country near the Mississippi River, and the valley of the Amazon are examples. Science is slowly but surely conquering these diseases, they are becoming less dreaded, and many of these regions have already been made healthful, Cuba and Panama being examples.

3. *Defective Government.*—Turkey formerly probably furnished us with as good an illustration of defective government as any other country, for the government there was little better than a system of legal brigandage. The rule of all ancient nations, particularly Egypt, Babylon, Assyria, Persia, and Rome, in which the provinces were looked upon merely as suitable objects of plunder, furnish further examples. Bad systems of land tenure, such as are found in England, Italy, Austria, and formerly in most countries of Europe, come under this heading. Governments that neglect sanitary precautions, notably Turkey, Italy, and most of the Slavic countries, must also be included. Cities which allow graft in their political management—and the majority of the large American cities come in here—contribute to poverty. Tariff schedules which put duties upon the necessities of life, like sugar, clothing, and all articles needed by the poor; unwise taxation, as illustrated by the general property tax in the United States; and, in fact, all greed, avarice, and inefficiency in government are potent factors in creating poverty. These conditions are slowly being remedied. Defective land tenures are being abolished. Better systems of taxation, particularly inheritance and income taxes, are supplanting the general property tax in most countries. Graft is being eliminated in our cities, although it still rules supreme in many governments small and large.

4. *Bad Industrial Organization.*—(1) Unemployment.—Evidences of faulty industrial organization are found in several conditions, the first of which is unemployment. This lies at the root of many of our social problems; for society is built upon labor and lays responsibilities upon

man which can be met only with the rewards from labor. In other words, we value things in terms of money, and when the power to earn this money is cut off our system breaks down. Formerly there was a saying that anyone could obtain work who wanted it, but modern conditions have relegated this idea to the scrap-heap. One-third of the cases of dependency which came before the American charitable organizations before the war were due to unemployment. If statistics were available the ratio might be found to be even higher at the present writing. Thousands are unable to obtain work at every season of the year, although they are not only willing to work but often are capable and efficient workers. The supply of labor is comparatively fixed, but the demand for it fluctuates. The demand for labor results from the demand for commodities, which in turn rests upon income, which again depends upon labor. The process is an endless chain and a break in any link breaks the combination. Any uncertainty, lack of confidence, or the failure of a large concern, as well as any great calamity, throws the whole system out of gear. Unemployment is an evidence of maladjustment. Often it is merely a matter of poor distribution, and the men who are out of work in Chicago may be needed in New Orleans or in the lumber camps of the north. Yet there are seasons when work is scarce; there are slack months in every industry, as in the winter months on the farm, in the stock-yards, in railway construction, and in any line of work which is hindered by the cold weather. For the same reason, bricklayers, masons, and carpenters are out of employment more or less during the winter months. Some occupations are altogether seasonal, such as dressmaking, cotton picking, berry picking, and harvesting.

The National Industrial Conference Board in a report issued January 21, 1922, gives the following statistics in regard to the causes of idleness in New York and Massachusetts:

Year.	All Causes.		Lack of Work.		Strikes and Lockouts.		Sickness and Accidents.	
	Mass.	N.Y.	Mass.	N.Y.	Mass.	N.Y.	Mass.	N.Y.
1904.....	..	16.9	..	12.1	..	3.6	..	1.2
1905.....	..	11.2	..	8.4	..	1.6	..	1.2
1906.....	..	9.3	..	6.7	..	1.4	..	1.2
1907.....	..	16.2	..	13.6	..	1.2	..	1.4
1908.....	14.2	29.7	12.5	27.9	0.6	0.4	1.1	1.4
1909.....	8.0	18.5	6.6	15.0	0.2	2.2	1.2	1.3
1910.....	7.5	19.1	6.1	13.6	0.1	4.2	1.3	1.3
1911.....	8.1	21.1	6.5	18.7	0.3	1.2	1.3	1.2
1912.....	8.3	17.3	5.1	15.2	1.9	0.9	1.3	1.2
1913.....	8.7	25.3	6.5	20.8	0.9	3.5	1.3	1.0
1914.....	13.0	28.9	11.0	27.5	0.5	0.3	1.5	1.1
1915.....	10.7	24.7	7.9	..	1.1	..	1.7	..
1916.....	5.7	..	3.3	..	0.9	..	1.5	..
1917.....	7.2	..	4.6	..	1.1	..	1.5	..
1918.....	6.1	..	3.3	..	0.4	..	2.4	..
1919.....	7.5	..	5.3	..	0.9	..	1.3	..
1920.....	19.7	..	16.5	..	2.0	..	1.2	..
Average.	9.6	19.8	7.4	16.3	0.8	1.9	1.4	1.2

The same report goes on to show that in normal times the average worker loses forty-two days a year (seven of which are due to sickness) or 14 per cent of his working time; and that on June 1, 1921, more than one-fourth of the industrial wage-earners were out of work. The percentage of course varies with the industry, the building and clothing trades showing relatively high percentages of unemployment and the printing trades a relatively low percentage. Yet there is no limit to the production of goods, provided the right kinds of goods are produced. It is not, therefore, altogether a matter of overpopulation or too much labor, but of maladjustment between labor and industrial opportunities.

Yet not all unemployed are employable. Generally the ones who are first thrown out of work are the last taken on again, and much the same group is out of work each year. As a rule, the least efficient of those employed are superior to the most efficient who are out of work. They are unemployed because they are inefficient, and are at the same time inefficient because unemployed. Poor wages mean insufficient food, clothes, and shelter, and so less

vital energy. Also idleness induces bad habits, such as laziness, drinking, and gambling, and these in turn reduce one's efficiency still more. We have a vicious circle here: the idler the individual is, the more inefficient he becomes, and the more inefficient, the idler. The bums in our large cities were once mostly capable and willing to work, but few of them now care for a steady job, for they have been out of work too long and have become really unemployable. As the demand for labor increases, the more efficient of the unemployed obtain work, while the most efficient laborers are busy a large part of the time.

Standards of efficiency have risen in late years, and it is becoming harder to measure up to them. Machinery has displaced much unskilled labor, and intelligence and adaptability are in demand. Yet large industries like to have extra men to draw upon in time of need, instead of keeping a smaller number busy all the time. This has been the policy of the stockyards, which have tried to keep a line of applicants before their doors every morning. Whenever the line began to thin out, they made efforts to increase it, even to the extent of encouraging immigration. This method has been practiced by the steel mills, mines, and large factories.

Many unemployed are also unemployable because they are shiftless, unreliable, criminal, and physically or mentally defective, even when not unemployable as a result of the industrial conditions. Many do not want work, but merely make the search for it an excuse, the professional tramp coming under this class. Although this situation complicates the problem of unemployment, it does not make the solution less imperative.

While unemployment is more common among union men than among non-union men, it is less destructive and so of less importance, for the union man is better able to bridge over the slack period. His wages are better when he is at work, and he is better organized and so has greater resources. Unions have unemployment, sickness, and accident benefits. The union man's bargaining power is greater, and so he is able to hold out for a higher wage.

Of the different classes of unemployed the following are the most important:

(*a*) Those engaged for short periods only, who have finished one job and have not started on another.

(*b*) Those who belong to trades, like bricklaying, in which the volume of work fluctuates according to season.

(*c*) Members of an occupation or trade in which there is an oversupply of labor. Trade unions try to prevent this by limiting the number of apprentices.

(*d*) Those who, because of their inefficiency, cannot obtain employment, perhaps because of being in the wrong trade or having made a wrong choice.

(*e*) Those unemployed due to general industrial depression.

While potentially efficient, members of these groups may become permanently unemployable.

The question presents itself, what can we do to solve or alleviate this condition? Indiscriminate giving not only does not remedy the situation, but aggravates it, and demoralizes industry more than ever. To find work is difficult if numbers of people are unemployed. Work may be found in the small place for the occasional person who is out of a job, but it is almost impossible to find work for thousands in a large city. Besides, the work should be productive and continuous. If work is provided by a city simply to give employment, very little is accomplished, unless some well-planned work is undertaken. Some relief may be given at times by starting work which has been already planned and needed, such as building a subway or digging a sewer. Commissioner Bell of New York introduced and put into operation a plan to give the news-stand licenses to the crippled, to the blind, to those who have lost limbs, or are otherwise unable to compete in the battle of life. The plan did not mean the crowding out of holders of the licenses, but the giving of preference in the future in the issuing of new licenses to the crippled and maimed. Some of the old license holders caught the spirit and surrendered their licenses. This method was expected to provide for about 12,000

otherwise unemployable. The private labor agencies deal with this problem not in order to solve but to profit by it. In Europe the majority of cities have municipal agencies which are generally co-ordinated and which have dealt with the problem of unemployment in a very efficient manner. This has not been tried to a very great extent in the United States except during the war. Prior to the war a number of cities had instituted municipal labor exchanges, but the most of these failed because of poor management, the managers being chosen for political reasons. A number of states had also established them with only slightly better results, except in the state of Ohio where greater efficiency was developed. The national system of labor exchanges, while inefficient in places, did valuable work, and was only discontinued because of the failure of Congress to make the necessary appropriation to keep it up, that body not recognizing that a great constructive work had been begun, thinking instead that it was merely a war measure.[5] Insurance that is met by employer, employee, and the state combined is the best method of handling the situation, for the problem affects all three. A national system of labor exchanges should be combined with such a system of insurance.

Unemployment is a cause not only of poverty but also of crime, intemperance, vice, and gambling. It breaks down family morale, leads to divorce, fosters child labor, forces women into industry, and lowers wages. If unemployment is done away with or reduced to a minimum, these problems as well as others will be rendered less difficult.

At the beginning of the Great War in 1914 the amount of unemployment in the United States was unusually large, thousands being out of work in all our large cities. Everywhere it was recognized that the war would bring

[5] It might be mentioned in passing that Congress later spent more money investigating the causes of unemployment in the usual after-war depression than it would have cost to keep this system of employment bureaus running, in fact many times the appropriation requested. This, however, is merely one instance of the need of electing trained and efficient persons to office.

increased industrial prosperity to the country, but few knew just where it would come; so everybody waited and factories and large industries laid off their employees and undertook little new work.

After a while the demand for commodities as a result of the war materialized and the slack was taken up, and there developed a shortage of labor, a condition just opposite to the former one. This was increased when the United States went into the war and began to draft men from industry. While the government did its best not to disturb industry by its own special demands, there immediately arose a surplus of jobs and a scarcity of workers. So great became the shortage of help and so long was its duration, that we almost began to accept it as a natural condition. Instead of immigrants crowding our shores, emigration began. Women went into industry in the endeavor to fill this gap, and because of the attraction of high wages. After the war was over and our soldiers returned, the shortage of workers continued because the demand for goods continued to exceed the supply. The war had destroyed so many commodities and had postponed purchases of ordinary articles to such an extent, that industry could not fill the demand and the shortage of labor continued. After we had supplied the extraordinary demand, and industry began to readjust itself to peace conditions, unemployment again began to appear. This was rapidly increased by the attempts of manufacturers to lower factory costs through wage reductions, and the discharge of unnecessary labor, and by the financial stringency which curtailed production and therefore increased unemployment. This became greater than normal unemployment, for the simple reason that many women who had secured positions during the war retained them. Many of the new female employees proved superior or more profitable to their employers than the men whom they replaced. While a return to normalcy was in all probability what the country needed, and the entry of more women into industry was not bad in itself, they both tended to intensify the unemployment situation. Many varying

estimates have been made of the amount of unemployment, but the most reliable figures showed from three to five millions of persons in the United States out of work. In the early part of 1922 business showed signs of recuperation, and present indications are that in time we shall adjust ourselves to a new set of conditions. Just how much unemployment will be found under this new state of normalcy we cannot at this time predict, but unless society takes some progressive step to solve this problem we can expect unemployment to remain as a permanent problem of modern industry. A national system of labor exchanges, supplemented by some system of unemployment insurance, seems to be the most satisfactory method of dealing with the problem. Yet these are relief rather than preventive measures. To really prevent unemployment there must come about a greater stabilization and standardization of business which will do away with the alternate rush and slack periods. Modern business leaders are not only realizing this but many concerns and industries are making much progress in this way and so are keeping a more regular working force throughout the entire year.

(2) Low Wages.—We have already considered in connection with family budgets the problem of low wages. The question might be brought up here of the ethics of low wages. The usual answer given is that the person receives a low wage because he or she produces little. Yet wages depend very slightly upon productivity. The product of labor fixes the upper limit of wages, never the lower. That is set by competition or regulated by supply and demand. As a rule big business is so organized that it is subject to little competition. If labor is abundant wages are low; if scarce, wages are higher. Some industries make no pretense of paying all a person is worth to them but depend upon a surplus of labor, and so give as little as possible, often paying a person with dependants a wage too low to support even one person. The department store is notorious for this. Also cotton mills, especially in the South, woolen mills, silk mills, and candy factories are great offenders. Many states are attempting to set

minimum wage standards for different industries. In 1917 twelve states had passed minimum wage laws for women and children, and the most of these states have commissions which set a minimum wage for each industry.[6] A number of industries, particularly those employing large numbers of women, such as department stores, candy factories, and laundries, have been investigated by these commissions and minimum wages set. The question arises whether it is ethically just for any industry to be a parasite, as the department store so often has been. Has society the right to allow a great department store to go on piling up millions in profits for the founder's descendants, who do absolutely nothing towards earning them, at the expense of the poor employees in the store, who are not in a position to force their wages up? A person who labors and is productive and efficient is entitled to a living. Yet thousands do not receive it. The wage of the day laborer in the past has not been sufficient to support a family; in fact, the wage of the unskilled laborer in general has not allowed the worker any margin at all, often not even a decent living. The wages in many industries, such as the sweated industries, have not permitted a decent living, to say nothing of the comforts of life. Is it right for society to allow such conditions? Practically the only way of dealing with such a situation is by means of a minimum wage law. If such a law were correctly drawn, rigidly enforced and supported by public opinion, the condition would right itself. If the work were necessary, the workers would become trained and efficient; then they would receive living wages. If this increased the cost of manufactured and retailed products, well and good, for then the people who enjoyed the fruits of the labor would pay for it. Trade schools to teach efficiency would then be in demand and would help to solve the problem.

[6] Later a minimum wage law for the District of Columbia was declared unconstitutional. While the principles of the state laws have all been upheld by the courts—some provisions have not been upheld—the District of Columbia decision caused much doubt and no more state laws have been passed to date—1928—and the enforcement of some of the laws has been relaxed or abandoned.

(3) Irregularity of Employment and Seasonal Work.—Irregular work is typified by that of the English dock laborers, who work night and day when shipping is brisk, and go for days and weeks without work when no ships come in. If industry were properly organized, such irregularity would be reduced to a minimum. These seasonal workers should dovetail into other seasonal occupations. If this is impossible, wages should be made high enough to enable the workers to live during the time when work is not to be had.

(4) Immobility of Labor.—Of all commodities labor is the most immobile; this fact adds to its poor bargaining position. The higher the grade of labor, the easier it is for the laborer to move, for he has the reserve power produced by greater intelligence and higher wages. The man with a small income is ordinarily unable to move, even if he knows that there is work to be had in another place.

(5) Unhealthful and Dangerous Occupations.—In 1917, 10,087 persons were killed and 194,805 persons injured by the railroads of the United States; over four-fifths of these people were employees of the railroads. While railroading can never be made absolutely safe, it kills and injures far too many. The same is true of mining. Many occupations are dangerous to the health of the workers; the making of matches was especially so till the use of phosphorus was forbidden. Glass plants, lead industries, steel mills, and many kinds of factories offer hazards to life. Others which are not positively dangerous are frequently unhealthful occupations; among these may be mentioned the cigar factories, cotton mills, and telephone exchanges. More and more, modern legislation is compelling the employers to protect their employees from dangerous machinery; the laundries to put guards upon the mangles so that the fingers of the operators will not be caught and crushed; and factory owners to cover up belts and place guards around dangerous machinery. Railroads are required to use air brakes and coupling devices that do not menace the fingers of the brakemen.

Unnecessary risks are being eliminated more and more by the making and enforcing of such laws. Disasters like the Triangle Shirt Company fire in New York, the *Eastland* disaster in Chicago River, the Iroquois Theatre fire, and the burning of the *General Slocum,* in which hundreds of children were either burned or drowned, have forcibly brought the need of safety provisions and the enforcement of regulations before the public, so that after every great disaster there is a demand for legislation to prevent any similar disasters in the future. When the attention of the public is called to such dangers, public sentiment is generally created to compel the proper legislation. As industry speeds up, dangers increase, but the increase in watchfulness probably keeps pace with it. Accidents cannot be prevented entirely, but can be decreased to a minimum by proper watchfulness.

5. *Changes in Industry.*—(1) New Machinery.—The industrial revolution in England produced untold misery. It threw thousands out of employment, reduced wages, and caused privation and misery on every hand. The invention of any new machine or improved method which enables one person to do the work formerly requiring several throws men out of employment and thus causes poverty. After a time the industry readjusts itself and a better condition results. The improved machine produces more and lowers prices; the lower price increases demand for the commodity; greater consumption increases the demand for labor. But the temporary readjustment causes misery.

(2) New Styles.—Varying styles bring about changes in trade; narrow skirts caused a smaller demand for cloth than usual and compelled the quick return to wider skirts in order that the manufacturers might not lose money. The decline in popularity of the bicycle caused that industry to go to the wall. Later the automobile filled this gap, but as a result of the growth of the automobile business the wagon industry suffered. Even reforms sometimes disturb conditions; prohibition, for example, decreased the demand for bottles and barrels and caused some unemployment until industry readjusted itself. This was possibly

more noticeable in local option days when a town went dry, than when the whole nation adopted prohibition, for in the former instance there was an uncertainty as to the future. The adoption of national prohibition came at a very fortunate time when the extra demand for labor quickly absorbed the workers let out of the liquor industries, and there was very little unemployment.

(3) Changes in the Value of Money.—When prices fall and money becomes more valuable, it causes the debtor class to suffer. On the other hand a sudden rise in prices makes life harder on the working man, for wages are always slower to rise than the prices of commodities, and while the laborer is compelled to pay more for food, clothing, rent, and common necessities, his pay envelope for a long time is no fatter.

(4) Changes in Tariff Schedules.—Putting tariff on a commodity immediately raises its price, whether the article is imported or not, for prices are based more upon the ability to charge than upon the cost of production. Yet lifting the tariff from commodities, often forces industries out of business, thus causing unemployment and suffering. The building up of the sugar industry in the United States is a good example of an industry fostered by a protective tariff. When the tariff on sugar was removed, this industry was threatened with ruin.

(5) Any Great Disturbance in Industry.—Wages are affected by any industrial disturbance, within or without. Such a disturbance was caused in the United States in 1914 by the war. Even though we profited by it financially because it furnished us a new market, it caused distress until we could readjust our industry to the new conditions. After the abnormal conditions produced by the war were over, the readjustment to normal times caused a similar depression, only this time it was more serious because it was a contraction instead of an expansion. Any readjustment in industry brings hardship to some people.

6. *Defects in Educational System.*—Illiterate and uneducated persons are at a disadvantage in life's struggle. An educational system which does not reach all is at fault;

also an educational system which does not train for life is a cause of dependence. Lack of adequate industrial training is a noticeable defect in our present educational system. The teaching of manual training is a step in the right direction, but it should be supplemented. Free public instruction should extend to all kinds of professional and industrial training, as well as cultural training. The Gary system, combining all forms of education, is one method of dealing with this problem. Poor education is one cause of poverty with which we can easily deal; it is one with which the American people are grappling now. School medical inspection and school lunches are among the recent methods of attacking the problem.

7. *Defective Courts and Punitive Machinery.*—If the courts are corrupt or inefficient, laws are not obeyed. If the punitive machinery is defective and court sentences are not carried out, laws are disregarded. This means that preventive legislation will not be enforced, that the strong will prey upon the weak, and that misery and distress will be increased. There has not been much question of the integrity of the American courts, although such cannot be said of the legal machinery of many countries, especially China and Turkey. There has, however, been great complaint of the inefficiency of our courts. Decisions have at times actually not been handed down till all interested in the case were dead and buried and the whole matter lost sight of by everyone except the lawyers. Appeal can be taken so easily that cases are often decided in favor of those who have the deepest pocket-books. The poor man in the lower court often receives only the merest pretense of justice, cases involving the whole future of men receiving from ten to thirty seconds' time; and in some cases the defendant, especially if he is an immigrant, being given no chance at defense. This causes a disrespect for law and a hatred of society. The introduction of the public defender is a great reform, especially in compelling employers to pay workers, and in forcing those indebted to poor persons to settle, this being accomplished in most cases by a letter from the public defender.

8. *Defective Sanitation.*—Poor sanitation, while mentioned under government, is also due to other reasons than defective government. It may be the result of ignorance, neglect, or poor location. It is one of the most frequent causes of sickness, and so is a great producer of poverty.

9. *Unfavorable Surroundings.*—Living near a degenerate neighborhood or where one does not come into contact with real industry and enterprise is an indirect cause of poverty, for no real enthusiasm is engendered and one becomes discouraged, feeling that life is of no use. This is especially true if one lives among thieves and grafters, for then one is apt to feel that it is useless to work or save; such an environment is especially destructive in its influence upon children.

10. *Accidents, Other Than Those Due to Dangerous Occupations.*—Accidents, whether in one's work or outside, decrease the earnings, increase expenses, and hence often throw below the poverty line families which otherwise would be able to stay above. The loss of the breadwinner may break up the family. This problem is met in European countries, like Germany and England, by sickness and accident insurance which is compulsory and which is generally paid partly by the employer, partly by the employee, and partly by the state. This is one instance where the United States lags behind Europe in social development. We can see the importance of this when we consider the number of automobile accidents alone—57,817 in New York state in 1926, in which 2,143 persons were killed.

11. *Unwise Giving and Indiscriminate Charity.*—The American habit of indiscriminate giving is an unmixed evil. Especially harmful has been a large part of the charity of the churches. To them giving *per se* has been the chief thing and, being ignorant of how to give, they have in all probability caused more poverty than they have prevented. Unwise systems of relief increase poverty. Such was the old English method of supplementing the wages, for this method of making up the difference between the wage received and a living wage puts a premium

upon low wages. Unwise giving removes the incentive to work and kills the spirit of independence. Giving to a beggar simply to get rid of him or because the condition touches a sympathetic chord is probably the worst thing one could do for him. If the beggar is successful, he will choose begging as an occupation because it is more lucrative than working. Giving to a family without careful investigation often causes the family to cease to be independent and to depend entirely upon charity in the future. If one family succeeds in getting help, all its neighbors want it too, even if they have previously been independent. Giving in general, except in cases of dire need, is more injurious than helpful, especially if aid is given without careful investigation and without requiring some form of service in return. The average person is more in need of an opportunity to earn a living than of material relief.

12. *War, Famine, and Disaster.*—The World War caused endless poverty, as well as untold suffering and misery. Its aftermath is felt not only at the present time, but it will be felt for generations to come. While the effects of war have been most severely felt in those countries which were overrun by the armies, especially by the armies of the central powers—particularly Poland, Serbia, Armenia, Belgium, and Northern France—the war has affected all the nations engaged in the struggle. It took away, killed, and crippled millions of bread-winners, bringing in destruction and often starvation. Property lying in the track of the armies was destroyed and industries were shattered, even thousands of miles away from the actual fighting, through the destruction of markets. The fighting nations piled up debts which will mean heavy taxes for generations to come. While wars are abnormal causes, the World War alone will be a source of poverty for a generation at least.

Subjective Causes of Poverty.—By subjective causes of poverty we mean those originating within the person. They are intermingled with the objective causes, often being their results. In fact, it is seldom possible to separate them entirely. The following are generally considered the most important of the subjective causes:

1. *Disease, Sickness, and Poor Health.*—In his *Misery and Its Causes* Devine asserts that three-fourths of all persons coming before charitable organizations for aid are in need of medical attention in some form or other, or are affected by sickness in some way. As we have seen, a good deal of sickness is caused by dangerous occupations and insanitary surroundings, and so is outside the control of the individual. Malnutrition likewise renders the body susceptible to disease and sickness. This is especially true of children. It has been noted that about twenty per cent of the children in the public schools of our cities do not receive food sufficient in quality or quantity, and as a result are unable to do the required school work. The same is true in regard to adult work, for to be efficient one must be in good physical condition. Formerly sickness was thought to be a plague or punishment sent by God. Now it is looked upon as a result of maladjustments and irrational living. Chronic diseases cause much poverty by increasing expense and decreasing income. Even common diseases like measles, whooping-cough, and influenza cause much poverty not only by increasing expenses but by throwing the parents out of work through quarantine or requiring their services at home to look after the sick ones. Moreover, the death rate from measles and whooping-cough is very high, especially among children, often exceeding that of dreaded diseases like small-pox; but because of their prevalence we do not fear them and often take no pains to prevent their spreading.

Corporations are realizing the economic loss brought to themselves as well as to their employees and their families through illness; so they are hiring doctors, establishing hospitals, and, more important still, employing visiting nurses, who not only nurse the sick but teach the mothers to cook better and to keep the home in a more sanitary condition, thus increasing the efficiency of the workers. Dispensaries and free hospitals are provided by cities for the same purpose. Science is slowly conquering the various diseases by finding cures for them. For example, typhoid fever, diphtheria, whooping-cough, hook-worm, tuberculosis, syphilis, typhus, and yellow fever are yielding in vary-

ing degrees to the attacks of medical science. If treatment is placed within the reach of the poor through free hospitals and dispensaries, and the spread of the knowledge of hygiene by means of visiting nurses is carried on, the importance of sickness as a cause of poverty will be greatly diminished. It will not only decrease poverty but increase efficiency. In other words, the policy of the future in regard to disease should be to have the very best medical treatment within the reach of all, and then teach people so to live as to have little need for it. Thus one of the greatest and most far-reaching causes of poverty is now being dealt with in a correct manner—that is, by prevention, in addition to the relief of present sickness.

2. *Shiftlessness and Laziness.*—From ten to fifteen per cent of poverty is generally attributed to shiftlessness, but if we go deeply enough into the matter we usually find that shiftlessness is a result rather than a cause. Nevertheless we find people who are too indolent to replace broken window-panes, too sluggish to harvest their crops after they have ripened, and too lazy to do anything which is not absolutely required of them. As a result they are continually in trouble, and as soon as misfortune comes are in distress. This trait seems to go in families, and so we find degenerate and worthless families which cost their communities thousands of dollars. These are the people, as a rule, who have large families, which of course they are not able to support. Laziness is very often due to undernourishment, caused by poor food and poor living conditions. Sometimes sickness or disease is a source of this trouble; the hook-worm, for example, causes much of the indolence of the poor whites of the South by robbing them of their vitality. Malaria has the same effect. Fighting these diseases and thus removing the cause is the only way of eliminating this condition. As for lack of energy and ambition, unless it is caused by undervitalization and illness, we have no solution except possibly the resort to some kind of stimulus. In individual cases this can be done by means of an appeal to pride or by increasing the desires, as is sometimes done with negroes by the display of attractive goods in shop windows. Industrial concerns

in the South have obtained results by establishing company stores which display all manner of finery, thus stimulating a desire to work.

3. *Poor Judgment.*—Poor judgment is closely akin to the preceding cause, only it appears to be more hopeless of remedy. Some people seem to have the ability to decide wisely in their undertakings, to choose the right path, to buy the most economical things, to decide upon what is cheapest and best in the long run, to choose their careers with the final goal in sight. Others seem to have just the opposite faculty—if we may be allowed to call it that; they are always being swindled, always getting the worst of the bargain, always getting "left," and always having a tale of woe to tell. Some are always having bad luck, continually meeting with accidents, and constantly getting sick. They are the ones who lose their positions, pay the highest prices for things, never know how to economize, and so are never able to save. Sometimes when they do chance to reach the brink of success, they change their mind and sacrifice all they have gained. In short, the world seems to be full of fools, who become the victims of those endowed with higher intelligence. While this characteristic is generally inherited, we occasionally see in the same family one member who is always "lucky" and another who is always "unfortunate." One has good judgment, and the other poor judgment. Apparently this whole condition is without remedy, except that judgment can be trained to some extent if the attempt is begun early enough in life. Where results are possible at all, it is a matter of the home and home training.

4. *Intemperance, Bad Habits.*—The use of alcohol has been one of the greatest causes of poverty that we have had. Yet this cause is also attributable to others. It, like unemployment and sickness, is cumulative. Intemperance increases poverty, and necessitates less desirable homes and poorer food. These stimulate the desire for liquor, and the further drinking of liquor increases poverty. Poverty drives to drink just as drink drives to poverty. Drink reduces efficiency, which reduces income, which increases poverty, which increases the temptation to drink, and so

it goes on, forming an endless chain. The use of opium and morphine, Copenhagen snuff, cocaine, or other habit-forming drugs has the same effect. To eliminate these factors, we have tried in the United States several methods of procedure, such as high licenses, local option, and the dispensary system, and at last have come to the true and only logical solution, prohibition. Other countries are still grappling with the problem. We have likewise forbidden the sale of most of the injurious drugs. With this cause removed it will be much easier to reach some of the other causes of poverty, such as low wages, unemployment, sickness, immorality, crime, neglect, and desertion.

At the present writing we are having some difficulty in enforcing prohibition, but this is only natural and in all probability it will take at least a generation to do away entirely with the liquor problem. As a great over-shadowing problem it is a thing of the past in the United States, and as a great cause of poverty in this country it has disappeared.

5. *Immorality.*—Immorality is closely bound up with degeneracy and poverty. In such studies as those made of the Jukes, Kallikak, and Nam families we find immorality and intemperance going hand in hand, holding these families down to a state of poverty and degeneracy. Immorality weakens vitality and efficiency and so decreases earnings. It again is joined with other causes, such as poor judgment and intemperance, and is a result of poverty as well as a cause. On account of the nature of this source of poverty it is next to impossible to make any really accurate estimates of its importance.

6. *Old Age.*—Although to qualify for an old-age pension in England requires an annual income of less than 31 pounds 10 shillings, 60 per cent of the aged qualify for it and, in 1912, 90 per cent of this number received the maximum amount. As a comparison, it has been estimated that at least a million and a quarter aged in the United States are in want and supported by charity, private or public.[7] Yet this is not a serious social problem,

[7] Gillin, J. L., *Poverty and Dependency*, rev. ed., 1926, pp. 272–3 (Century).

like child labor or unemployment, for the aged have lived their lives and while it may arouse much sympathy and be a reflection on our civilization the social effects are not as serious as when the child is affected. Then in addition when a person becomes old his dependants have, as a rule, grown up, and usually there are relatives to care for the aged ones, if they have no means of support of their own. European countries, especially England, France, and Germany, handle this problem by means of old-age pensions or old-age insurance, and it is possibly only a question of time till we do the same in this country. In fact in 1927 five states and the Dominion of Canada had already passed old-age pension acts and others were studying the problem. In addition to care in almshouses and outdoor relief methods, we also have homes for the aged supported by various agencies, industrial pensions, retirement pensions for various classes of government employees such as for firemen, policemen and teachers; also various forms of insurance sold by private companies as well as private savings. So we care for our aged, but often in a shabby and haphazard manner. This cause can never be removed, although its ill effects can be lessened by increasing the opportunity for saving, and by proper systems of insurance. It is a comparatively easy problem to solve as compared with some others.

7. *Neglect and Desertion by Husband and Relatives.*— Neglect and desertion contribute from five to ten per cent of the cases of destitution. They are especially important and, unfortunately, too common, particularly when the children are young. The time when the children are too small to help is the time when it is the hardest to support the family, and too many fathers become discouraged at their inability to support the family and desert them, thus only complicating the problem. It is difficult to remedy this situation. Attempts are sometimes made to bring back the deserting fathers and compel them to support the family, and also to compel parents to look after their children. But relief is usually the only thing possible: helping the mother to hold the family together, or removing the

children from the home, when the home is hopeless. This condition is also the result of other causes, particularly intemperance, immorality, low wages, and crime. Not only neglect of children by their parents, but neglect of parents by their children, is quite common in America because of the breaking down of patriarchal authority and the lessening of parental respect.

8. *Crime and Dishonesty.*—Not only are persons made unemployable by dishonesty and crime, and so unable to provide for their families, but, when a person is sentenced to prison, his family is often left destitute. Moreover, when the prisoner is discharged it is extremely difficult for him to get work again. The modern system of paroling and finding work before the parole is granted is an effective plan of dealing with the problem. Also public opinion is changing somewhat in regard to the employment of an ex-convict, because belief in reformation is gradually becoming prevalent. Then, too, we are becoming more altruistic and are more willing to give a man another chance.

9. *Ignorance, Other Than Lack of Education.*—Ignorance is closely akin to poor judgment. We find people who simply do not know how to do things and who never are able to learn to do anything except as they are directed. This is not necessarily feeble-mindedness, for very often the person has normal intellect but simply does not know how to go about things. The person with poor judgment may be very industrious and may accomplish things, and then spoil it all by poor decisions. But the inefficient person simply is not able to produce much; so he earns little. Ignorance on the part of wives in household matters —ignorance of methods of running a house, planning a well-balanced diet, buying economically; ignorance of hygiene, of the proper care of the sick, and of the rearing of children—these every-day home matters contribute not a little to poverty. Improvement of the environment alleviates this condition by bringing such people into contact with efficiency and knowledge.

10. *Large Families.*—Formerly large families were considered assets, because as soon as the children outgrew

the period of infancy they were trained to contribute to the food supply, and as they grew older they contributed to the defense as well as the support of the family. This was true in America down through colonial times and in later days on the frontier as long as free or cheap land was available. After we began to settle down to our present manner of living, there was no longer productive work for the children to do. Then again our ideas in regard to education of children and child labor have changed. Now instead of being assets, children are liabilities and a source of added expense. Therefore, as the size of the family grows the strain increases in proportion. Whereas a family may remain independent if there are only two or three children, it frequently is unable to do so when the number increases to eight or ten. This tendency has grown more important with the increased cost of bearing and rearing children.

Poverty Cumulative.—As we have seen, instead of there being one cause of poverty there are many. We find also that these causes go hand in hand, one prompting a second, and it in turn bringing on a third. Unemployment leads to intemperance, which in turn may result in crime. Sickness may reduce one's efficiency; lack of efficiency may bring on unemployment, and so on. We find that laziness and shiftlessness are frequently caused by undervitalization, which itself may be the result of sickness or poor food. Both of these last may be the consequence of ignorance or poor judgment. Ignorance may be due to the person's being compelled to go to work too early in life. This necessity may be the result of the death of the father through an accident met with in a hazardous occupation. The occupational hazard itself may be due to the lack of legislation caused by graft in politics or to the inefficiency of the courts in enforcing the laws. Unemployment may be due to a change in industry, a change in style, immobility of labor, or some great upheaval in industry. Not only is it absolutely impossible to single out any one condition as the cause of poverty,

but it is impossible to find any one cause which is not connected with some other cause. Poverty is cumulative; poverty breeds poverty. The majority of the poor are held down in poverty as ruthlessly and arbitrarily as if there were some ironclad rule or law forbidding them to emerge from their condition.

Causes of Poverty are Also Results of Poverty.—Moreover, the conditions which we have just discussed are not only causes of poverty, but are also results of poverty. Poverty makes one inefficient; unemployment follows. Poverty lowers one's bargaining position; low wages and irregularity of work are consequent. Poverty prevents the laborer from moving from an idle district to a place where work can be had. Poverty will not allow one to take time to learn a new trade, when a change in style or a new machine deprives him of the old trade. Poverty prevents the child of the very poor from being able to receive the full benefit of the school. Lack of money compels the poor man to live in an insanitary and undesirable neighborhood. Poverty encourages shiftless living. Poor nutrition, caused by poverty, makes one less able to protect himself from accident. Poverty prevents the employment of good doctors and nurses in case of sickness, as well as precautions necessary to avoid illness. Poverty forces women into prostitution, and is in turn a product of immorality. Poverty causes family discord and desertion, as well as crime and dishonesty. Ignorance is traceable to poverty, as well as being the cause of it. Even defective government may be the result of power falling into the hands of the rich; the poor being too weak to rise or protest, are ground down under the feet of the mighty. The same is true of defective courts and punitive machinery. Laboring men receive far greater consideration in our courts since the unions have become strong; even decisions of the Supreme Court are much more favorable towards them. It is only human nature to despise the weak and instead of helping them to kick them still lower down. People may be too poor either to profit

by the educational system or to demand such a system, this being the condition in many countries even to-day. Bad climatic conditions and insufficient natural resources may be endured because the people are too poor to overcome or move away from them. In fact, it is almost impossible to find a cause of poverty which is not also a result of it. This condition accounts for the diversity of views in regard to the causes of poverty and remedies for it. It is the reason why it is so exceedingly difficult to make an accurate and scientific study of poverty. The more definite and clear one becomes, the farther he strays from the real facts of the situation.

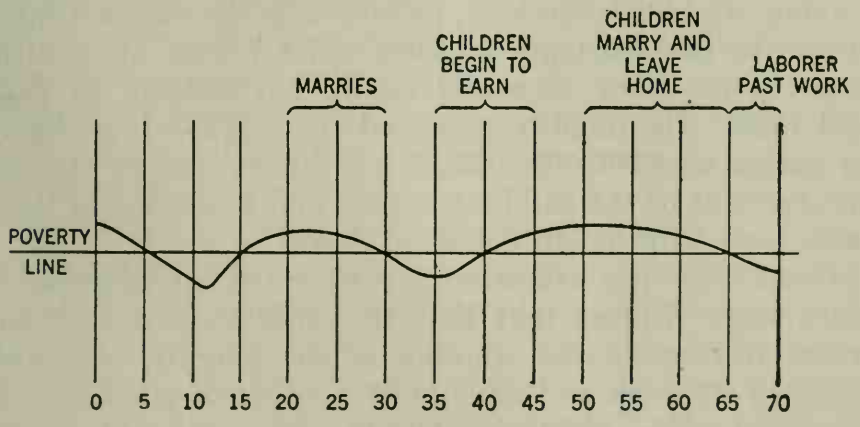
This complexity may be illustrated by the causes of destitution of 5,000 families needing aid in New York City:[8]

Disability—	*Individuals Affected*	*Families*	
		No.	*Per Ct.*
1. Unemployment	4424	3458	69.16
2. Overcrowding	....	2014	44.68
3. Widowhood	....	1472	29.3
4. Chronic physical disability	1603	1365	27.3
5. Temporary physical disability (accident and child-birth excepted)	1158	984	19.68
6. More than 3 children under 14 years	....	944	18.88
7. Intemperance	1000	833	16.67
8. Less than 5 years in New York City	....	814	16.28
9. Tuberculosis	675	619	12.38
10. Desertion and persistent non-support	....	606	12.12
11. Head of family 60 years or older	....	599	11.98
12. Laziness, shiftlessness	667	588	11.76
13. Child-birth	363	363	7.26
14. Rheumatism	359	347	6.94
15. Immorality	337	256	5.12
16. Mental disease, defects, or deficiencies	267	248	4.96
17. Cruelty, abuse	229	221	4.42
18. Accident	201	198	3.96
19. Untruthfulness, unreliability	210	194	3.88
20. Criminal record	161	151	3.02
21. Violent or irritable temper	148	140	2.80
22. Waywardness of children	160	129	2.58
23. Disposition to beg	134	117	2.34
24. Child labor (general, not illegal)	85	42	.84
25. Gambling	22	22	.44

[8] Devine, E. T., *Misery and Its Causes*, p. 204 (Macmillan, 1909).

The reader must also keep in mind that poverty and destitution are not just the same, the latter being more acute and temporary and the former more chronic and permanent. These statistics are given, however, because they illustrate the point to be stressed, namely, the complexity of the problem and the multiplicity of causes or conditions.

Rowntree[9] gives us the following interesting diagram as to the times in life when one is the most apt to sink below the poverty line. It will be noticed that there are three periods: first in childhood, when the parents are poor; next in the prime of life, if there are several children who thus increase the burden; and last in old age, when one loses his earning power.


MARRIES
CHILDREN BEGIN TO EARN
CHILDREN MARRY AND LEAVE HOME
LABORER PAST WORK
POVERTY LINE
0 5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70

Other Effects of Poverty.—We will now cite, along with the causes, some of the effects of poverty. These might be called different phases of the problem, but because they are natural outgrowths of poverty we shall take them up as consequences. Each of these might be considered as a problem in itself. But they are all lineal descendants of mother poverty.

Child Labor.[10]—The United States Census gives the

[9] Rowntree, B. S., *Poverty, a Study of Town Life*, p. 13 (Longmans), 1922.

[10] A distinction must be made between child labor and child work. When a child does an errand for a parent or does chores about the house or farm, such as bringing in wood, weeding out the onion patch or even milking a cow or hoeing in the garden, that is not ranked generally as child labor but rather as child-work, for it is

following figures in regard to the number of children employed, between the ages of 10 and 15 inclusive:

Year	*No. Employed*	*Per Cent of All Children*
1880	1,118,356	16.8
1900	1,750,178	18.2
1910	1,990,225	18.4
1920	1,060,858	8.5

The last figures would indicate a marked decrease in child labor but the facts are that these statistics were taken in January, whereas the former figures were gathered in April. As a result the agricultural workers, who now form the largest class of child workers, were not enumerated in 1920. There was a decline with the passing and enforcing of child labor laws, particularly the national laws. But with the declaring of these federal laws unconstitutional child labor increased again, particularly in 1922 and 1923. The number employed now—1928—is probably in excess of 2,000,000. Much of this is due to the lax enforcement of the child labor laws and to defects in these laws, especially in the Southern States.

Child labor has arisen largely since the introduction of machinery. Before that time the child worked at home, where it received the training of the parents, who took pride in its work and stimulated a spirit of emulation in the child. The child was looked after and seldom was worked beyond its endurance. With the introduction of machinery the attitude changed, and the chief consideration became, not the child's welfare, but the amount of product, because this determined the profit. With the coming of the industrial revolution in the latter part of the eighteenth century, children were in demand for work in the factories of England. Because of the existing senti-

training and leads somewhere and is in general developmental. When a child is sent to a factory to work all day for a wage or even sent to the fields to pick cotton all day for so much per hundred pounds or to work in the beet-fields under a contract, that is child labor. Such work seldom leads anywhere or is developmental but is generally injurious. Fuller in his *Child Labor and the Constitution* (Crowell, 1923), stresses this distinction.

ment against this, and because of the stigma put upon the "factory girl," it was extremely difficult to get sufficient children to run the factories, and the people of England did not respond until forced to it by starvation. The mill-owners filled their factories from the workhouses; traffickers in children appeared, and children were sold almost like slaves. Of course no wages were paid, and the children were given the poorest of food and the scantiest of clothing; in fact, thousands were practically starved. Children were so cheap that it did not pay to feed them well; it was cheaper to replace them. These children, some as young as eight and ten years of age, were worked to the limit of their endurance, the working day generally being sixteen hours. If the children gave out before quitting time, they were revived either with the lash or by being dipped into a tub of water. Sometimes they were shackled to prevent their running away. Of course the death rate was high, but the parishes were glad thus to get rid of their poor children.

By the Act of 1802, the hours were reduced to twelve, and employers were required to provide for the clothing, education, and religious training of the children, if such education and instruction can be imagined under such conditions. This act did not apply to children working "under the supervision of their parents." As a result, the system of pauper apprenticeship was broken up, because it was cheaper to hire children than to comply with the provisions of this troublesome law. Wages had already been forced down and adults were employed only on condition that they bring a child or two. In the meantime the hand industries had been driven out of business by the cheaper machine-made goods; so the workers had to come to terms with the owners. These free children, sent by their parents, were treated almost as brutally as under the old system, and were often cruelly beaten, but the parents were not in a position to object.

So much for the introduction of child labor. Our present problem is merely an offshoot of this condition amid new surroundings. Child labor is possible and profitable largely

because of machine production, which makes it economical to employ children, and possible for them to do the work which had been, or which otherwise would be, done by adults.

There are certain types of industries which are the largest employers of children. Probably the worst offenders in the United States are the cotton mills of the South; it is argued by the owners that because they give work they better the condition of the people. But the hours are long—the ten-hour day prevailing; the children are employed to run high-speed machinery, and they are often so small that they are compelled to climb upon the machines to tend them. The age limit is low in all the Southern States, fourteen years being high among them, and many states allow children even younger to work. In addition, because of poor enforcement of the laws, thousands below the legal limits are employed. It is argued in defense that the families need the money, which under the present scale of wages they possibly do.

The glass industry is another offender. The factories are located in small towns near some ready fuel supply such as natural gas. Because of being located in small towns and because of the ease in moving, conditions are allowed which otherwise might not be tolerated. In these factories the children are employed to carry bottles to and from the ovens, and are kept constantly on the trot. Adults are not quick enough to do this. Investigators have figured that on an average the boy travels twenty-two miles during the working day or night, running to and from the oven with his loads of bottles. The work is very injurious, especially in winter on the night shift, for the boys leave their hot work to go out into the bitter cold of the early morning, and fall easy victims to pneumonia and grippe. The glare also affects the eyes, and if the boys work on the night shift it is extremely difficult for them to sleep during the day; so they get insufficient rest. Then the moral effect is bad, for the surroundings are generally not what they should be. Fortunately this work is now being replaced by the use of machinery.

The mines, especially the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania, are also transgressors. They employ breaker boys, whose work it is to work amidst the dust, picking slate from the coal as it slides by. The lungs become filled with dust, the hands become bruised, and the boy becomes bent with the work and stunted for life. He does not get an education but graduates instead into the mines, where he becomes a door boy or mule driver. The cigar factories are likewise bad, although here the work is not so hard; here both boys and girls work in an atmosphere highly charged with nicotine. This bad air generally brings on tuberculosis or stunts the body for life.

The canning industry employs much child labor. Conditions in the oyster and shrimp canneries are especially bad. Children often begin work at four or five years of age and work long hours, sometimes as many as fifteen hours a day. Because their parents work with them conditions are not so bad as in some industries, the children seldom being abused. But the attitude of these parents seems strange to us; the majority of them are immigrants; they look upon their children as assets, and expect them to help support the family, not considering an education necessary for them. The children work for their parents, so it is difficult to reach them except through the school laws, for they are not on the list of workers. A child of seven was able to make, before the war, from ten to twenty-five cents a day; one from eight to ten years of age, about fifty cents a day; and one from twelve to fourteen, often as high as one dollar a day. But the best of adults seldom made over one dollar, so the work offered no advancement. This work is seasonal, but at the end of the season the families are generally moved to the berry fields for the rest of the year. Because most of these canneries are located in the South, where school laws are very lax, these children receive little if any education. Moreover in the berry season in New Jersey schools are not in session, for it is then vacation. Some companies make a farce of providing schools, requiring the children to work four hours, attend school half a day, then work four hours more. It

can easily be imagined how much education will be acquired.

In addition to these and other industries there are home workers—children who work for their parents in the sweated industries, even tiny children, scarcely more than babies, helping their parents in making beads, artificial flowers and feathers, in picking out bastings, and in doing whatever their little fingers are able to do. Conditions are not quite so bad as in factories, because the children are working with their parents; yet most of these parents do not have our own high standards. The children receive no wages, and usually are under school age or work after school hours, and so cannot be reached by any child labor law.

Another phase of child labor which is generally unobserved is rural child labor. Here also there is the greatest need of distinction between child labor and child work. While undoubtedly some parents work their children too hard at such tasks as milking from five to ten cows each night and morning, working them too long hours or setting them at tasks too heavy for them, it is not this sort of work which is so injurious to society for this work generally leads to training and future success or usefulness. What is meant is the heavy work for wages or under contract for others. The best illustrations of this are the beet workers, particularly of Colorado, and the cotton pickers of the South; also the children working in the tobacco fields, worming and stemming tobacco in both the North and South. In Colorado alone thousands of children are employed, not only in weeding and thinning out but in pulling and topping beets, which is not only laborious but very detrimental to the physique of the growing child. Possibly the greatest injury here is in the loss of schooling, for the beets are pulled in the late autumn and in these regions the compulsory school law is not enforced. Superintendents often dare not enforce it for fear of losing their positions.

The trouble with the law is that while several authorities can enforce the law no one official is compelled to do so

and since the financial prosperity of the region is tied up with the sugar industry nobody dares to oppose its violation. Since most of these workers in Colorado are either Mexicans or Russian-Germans, most of the native Americans either ignore the problem or salve their consciences by claiming that these people do not count. Most of this work is let by contract at so much per acre; so the children are not paid wages but work for their parents, who have different standards from ours. This adds to the problem of enforcement of child labor laws. The bulk of the cotton pickers in the South are Negroes, hence there is less concern in regard to them. But these children become adults and because of their lack of education, training and proper nurture and physical and mental growth, society has to pay for it. The 1910 census gave the number of children between 10 and 15 years of age working in agriculture at 1,432,580. The 1920 census gave only 647,309, because of its being taken in January and when the second federal child labor law was in force. In all probability the number now employed in agriculture outnumbers the 1910 figure. Our great truck farms also employ large numbers of children. While this work is hard and monotonous it is not nearly as injurious as work in the cotton or beet fields.

Two of the most demoralizing occupations for children are the messenger service and the selling of papers. One-third of the boys sent to the John Worthy School in Chicago are newsboys, and one-third of these are below the normal in physique. The work keeps the boys on the street for long hours. They are under a constant strain. They generally learn that deceit, begging and short-changing easily swell their incomes. Also not only are fighting and gambling common practices but even drug vending and using are not uncommon. They also become accustomed to the life of the streets far too early in life. The occupation leads nowhere and unfits them for life. The messenger boy is still worse off, as he often is sent to places of immorality. Here he not only comes into close contact with vice and often becomes infected with the venereal diseases, but also encounters great temptation to dishonesty.

Tips are larger, persons are more careless, and it is easy to keep the change or to overcharge. The messenger trade, like that of the newsboy, leads nowhere and unfits for life. Formerly the bootblack belonged to the same class, but the Greek bootblack stands have put the native boys out of business; but there is a great deal of child labor in this business, for boys are imported from Greece for the work, often at an illegal age.

The moral effect of any sort of child labor is bad, even when the work itself is not hard. The labor is generally unskilled and the association is usually with coarse, uneducated persons, where the language heard is vulgar, profane, and obscene. The child never fully develops; he becomes discouraged and prematurely old, for, as Ruskin says, "To be a man too soon is to be a small man," both mentally and physically. Vitality is used up too early and he who enters industry too soon is, in turn, too quickly thrown upon the scrap heap. This also cripples the succeeding generations. A good illustration of the effect of the system was furnished at the time of the Boer War, when the physique of the population of England was so poor that she could not fill her armies sufficiently to fight that little nation, and had to lower the physical requirements for admission into the army. Child labor takes work away from parents and thus demoralizes the family life, for instead of a man's supporting his family he is compelled to let his family support him. It keeps wages down, for the adult has to compete with the child. Labor unions oppose it for this reason. Parents get accustomed to depending upon the earnings of their children and hence their parental love and devotion suffers. It is not essential to industry, for there are enough adults to do the work. It is unnecessary for the family, for if it were done away with wages would rise. It prevents improvements in machinery, for it removes the incentive to invention. Machines have been invented to do the work performed by the boys in glass factories, but it is cheaper to hire boys, so the machines are not installed. Other machines could be invented to do much of the work now performed

by children. It is not necessary to the financial success of the industries in question, for the ones employing children generally pay high dividends, especially the southern cotton mills and the coal mines of Pennsylvania. In fact any industry could get along without child labor.

But probably most important of all is the effect upon the nation of using up its supply of labor too early in life. It is like harvesting crops before they are ripe, cutting timber when it is too small, or killing cattle when they are calves, except that the effect is far more damaging. It is using up future resources. It is uneconomical and dangerous to our civilization. As mentioned before, most states have child labor laws, many good ones and well enforced. Others, mostly Southern States, have poor ones or have lax enforcement, and these states profit at the expense of those having efficient laws.

What we need is a national child labor law. Two such laws have been passed by Congress, but they have been declared unconstitutional, because contrary to clauses in our Constitution which are based upon the old individualistic idea of society. We need either a law which will avoid this difficulty or an amendment to our Constitution;[11] otherwise, states which are careless or have not developed a high moral sense of responsibility will continue to profit at the expense of those who have developed a higher social conscience. Until we can get such a law we need better state laws, and, still more important, strict enforcement of existing laws through proper inspection and penalties.

Women in Industry.—We shall not here discuss the entry of the unmarried woman into industry, but the entry of the married woman, not for the sake of a career or because she prefers it to housework, but from necessity —the necessity of supplementing the income of her husband. The entrance of this class of women into industry

[11] Such an amendment is now before our state legislatures and has been ratified by four states. But a determined campaign of propaganda on the part of the National Association of Manufacturers brought about an unfavorable vote in so many of the legislatures that its ratification will be postponed many years, if not permanently.

resembles child labor in many ways. It causes the wife to neglect the home and children. It makes it impossible to supply the family with proper food and attention. The children are neglected and forced upon the streets. If the wife tries to keep up her housework at the same time, the strain upon her is too great. If she delegates it to the children, she puts burdens upon them too early in life. Often she is compelled to labor when she is physically unfitted for it, especially just before or after childbirth. The whole effect is demoralizing and injurious to the family. The entry of woman into industry under these conditions tends also to keep wages down. It does much to complicate our next problem, child neglect. It increases the supply of labor, hence causes unemployment. In this way it is closely interwoven with other problems.

Child Neglect.—The children of the poor are not only underfed but also improperly fed. Often the food is sufficient in quantity but not in quality, lacking nourishing elements; in that case the children suffer from slow starvation. They are often sent to school without proper breakfasts. For lunch they have a few pennies which go often for ice cream, candy, or pickles. Spargo in his *Bitter Cry of the Children* estimated a few years ago, that 2,000,000 children of school age were victims of poverty, were denied the common necessities of life, and were turned adrift with feeble minds and bodies. He raises the question whether it would not be better to feed these waifs than to try to educate them; also whether it is not brutal to try to educate them when they are starving.

The cause of dullness in school is largely poor nutrition. Insufficient clothing also means that too much of the vitality of the body goes to fight off the cold. Children become discouraged and leave school, take to the street, and so easily drift into crime. Often they are taken out of school on the ground that if they cannot learn they might as well help pay the rent. Child labor brings still further injury physically, mentally, and morally. If the child cannot stand the strain of school, it cannot stand

the strain of factory life, and soon goes to help swell the class of degenerates.

The criminal population, as we shall see in another chapter, is drawn largely from this class of degenerate children. Reformatory children are nearly always smaller and lighter in weight upon admission than normal children of the same age. Poor nutrition lies at the root of much of crime. So great has been this problem in the slum districts that the public schools of most of our large cities have had to follow the practice of many European cities in furnishing free lunches or lunches at a low cost to the children. Lunches that are nourishing and palatable are furnished for a few cents. The writer was struck with the popularity of school lunch-rooms that he once visited in Chicago. They are generally conducted on the cafeteria plan, but with some provision for those who cannot afford even the low prices charged. But when they were first introduced, it was found that the digestive system of many children was so deranged that it could not stand good food; being too weak to digest it, the stomach would reject it. In one place the soup was found to be too good and had to be weakened. Children were found who could not eat chicken or meats of any kind, who could not even drink milk.

This is one illustration of where the school has to step in and perform the function of the home. Great improvements in school work always follow the installation of these cheap lunchrooms. In Switzerland the poor children are fed, clothed, and shod at public expense. Day homes are provided for very young children. Children are examined and the sick ones, instead of being sent home, where they are not apt to receive proper care, are taken to sanitariums. In Brussels and in Norway, if a child looks puny it is fed a special diet, and the school systems see to it that every child receives a square meal. In this respect America is behind Europe, but is rapidly following her lead. This work must be extended if we expect to stop the recruiting of a class of physical,

mental, and moral degenerates. We are putting in day nurseries, where working mothers may leave their children under proper care. We are expanding the work of visiting nurses who teach mothers how to cook and how to care for their homes and children. We are also experimenting with mothers' pensions, which permits the parent to stay at home to care for the children, the state thus paying for this important service. We are also working towards minimum wage scales, in order to enable the parents to provide for the children. In other words, we are not only trying to relieve the distress, but we are attempting to dig up the roots of the evil.

Under this heading are to be considered the physical defects of children, such as poor eyesight, adenoids, enlarged tonsils, and other ailments, which can easily be remedied if treated in time. Many children are dull because of defective vision, poor hearing, or some such physical weakness and if these faults are remedied the dullness often disappears. It is stated that Theodore Roosevelt was considered dull until it was found that he was nearsighted. With the fitting of glasses the dullness quickly disappeared. This type of defect is not always confined to the children of the very poor, for well-to-do people often neglect to care for their children in this respect, thinking that the child is "all right," or putting off the matter till the child is injured for life. Many of our schools have medical inspection of the children at stated intervals. This too often is done in a hasty manner, a mere glance being given each child. Then if a defect, such as poor vision, is found, a note is sent to the parents asking them to correct the trouble. These warnings are frequently neglected; in fact less than half the time are they heeded, the parents being too poor, too ignorant, too shiftless, or too selfish to do what is advised. There ought to be better provision for such cases, for the country cannot afford to have its children thus neglected. This is one line of work that needs to be greatly extended.

It seems sad, but it is true, that poverty always falls the heaviest upon those who have no control over it,

especially the child, who has to go without proper food, clothing, and shelter, and who has to endure suffering and is often killed, or maimed for life. The death rate for the poorest class of laborers is almost invariably far greater than that among the well-to-do.[12] The infantile death rate is much greater because of the lower vitality, making it more difficult to throw off disease. Poverty always falls heavier upon woman than man, and heavier upon the child than the adult.

Degeneracy.—We find not only degenerate families, but also degenerate communities and nations. The factors entering into this problem are many, but one of the principal ones is poverty. Poverty holds down, destroys, or prevents the development of ambition. Poverty, as we have seen, brings with it a myriad of other evils like crime, vice, ignorance, immorality, disease, and general inefficiency. Degeneracy is not all due to poverty; biological factors have to be considered, and geographic conditions also play a part. But poverty is the cause of much degeneracy. The writer well remembers when on a trip through the mountains of southeastern Kentucky being greatly surprised at the prosperity of the country and the rapid progress which that section was making. The cause back of it all, he found, was the discovery of coal, which was bringing wealth into the country. Wealth brings opportunity for an education, time for study, means of travel, and a chance to enjoy the comforts of life. The inclination may have been there before, but poverty prevented. If we examine the location and economic status of the communities from which the degenerate families, such as the Jukes, Kallikak, Nam, and Hill Folks have come, we shall find that poverty has prevailed. If we take up the degenerate and backward sections of any country, we find the same condition. This condition is partly the cause of poverty, but it is equally the result of it. The sand hills of the Carolinas and

[12] See Mangold, G. B., *Problems of Child Welfare*, Part I, rev. ed. (Macmillan, 1924).

Georgia, the Ozarks of Arkansas, the mountains of Kentucky and Tennessee—all these have been unproductive and inaccessible regions, which have been left to their own poverty. If we examine the backward countries of the world, we find the same thing true.

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CHAPTER XXIII

TREATMENT OF POVERTY

Historical Treatment of Poverty.—One of the earliest methods of treating poverty was *slavery*. If a person was unable to make a living or to manage his own affairs in such a way as to make both ends meet, he was sold into slavery, so as to allow someone else to provide for him who was able to do so. If a group or nation was unable to stand on its own feet, it was likewise subjugated by a stronger one. This solution of the problem was never consciously worked out in accordance with any such theory, yet it was widely adopted in ancient times. Among some people the aged and crippled were killed, and often in a spirit of altruism.

Charity, or the giving of alms, has been from time immemorial the most popular method of dealing with poverty. It has taken the forms of public charity, or the help given through institutions or agencies under the control of the state or any of its branches; and private charity, or the help given by individuals or groups of individuals independent of the authority of the state.

We find the idea of charity highly developed in the philosophies of India, China, and Judea. The religions of these countries, especially Brahmanism and Buddhism, advocated charity as one of the roads to salvation. In India the Brahman holy men depend upon alms for a living, and it is a part of the Brahman religious code to give them. So much has this been stressed that the so-called "holy men" are a nuisance in India and thousands of impostors find thereby an easy way to make a living. Charity was developed and organized by the early Hebrew church. Christianity took it up and carried it

on to a still greater extent than Judaism. With primitive men we do not as a rule find charity very highly developed, for among them the weak are despised and helped only because of the personal sympathy of relatives or friends; but among the really advanced peoples, especially those having highly organized religions, such as the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru, we find systems of relief of the poor quite highly developed.

As we study the people who are higher in the scale of civilization, we find an increase in the spirit of altruism; and one of the forms which this has taken is charity. Although we find exceptions, this did not as a rule take the form of public charity, or aid by the state, but private charity, which was left largely to the church, especially the Christian church. In Athens a poor tax was levied, but Athens was an exceptionally highly developed community. Rome in the period of the Empire spent vast sums, amounting to millions of dollars each year, in feeding the poor. At the time of Augustus, 320,000 persons received grants of corn or other aid from the state, and it is estimated that Nero gave away during his reign nearly $100,000,000 from the public treasury to the people for food. The Roman populace was not only fed at public expense but even amused. All this was done, however, not from altruistic motives. In Rome the people were divided into patricians, or the wealthy, and plebeians, or the poor. At first the patricians ruled and took all the spoils of their conquests, but later the plebeians gained a voice in the government and came to be feared. In order to keep them from revolting and overthrowing the patricians, the rulers began to help feed them, at first by keeping down prices, then by giving corn, and later by adding oil and wine.

The problem of keeping the people quiet and contented finally became so great that the circuses and gladiatorial contests were instituted to amuse them. The politicians vied with each other in lavish gifts in order to gain the votes of the people, both before election and after being put into office. This giving, which ultimately came out of the

public coffers, probably exceeded the amounts contributed privately to the support of the people. The politicians not only reimbursed themselves after getting office, but also took the opportunity of filling their pockets, till it came to be the custom for a consul, upon being given his province after retirement, to consider this his opportunity to recoup himself. In the one year that he held the province he had to make three fortunes: first, one to pay off the debts he had incurred getting into office; second, one to pay off all lawsuits after he got out; and third, enough to keep himself in luxury the rest of his life. So there was very little charity or altruism in the giving of the Roman state.

The Catholic Church, as it gained strength, assumed more and more the responsibility of caring for the poor and afflicted. Orders of nuns and monks were instituted with this motive in view. The Church did heroic work in this field. But the whole attitude was to relieve distress, not to prevent poverty. It sought to relieve suffering without attempting to remove its causes, perhaps seldom thinking that the latter could be done. The church gave alms, cared for children, relieved sickness, and tried in general to alleviate distress. But instead of removing poverty, the church probably increased it. The conditions causing poverty continued to operate, and the very fact that they could get alms was a great inducement for the people not to struggle against adversity but to accept aid from others. This work of the Church in dealing with poverty continued until the time of the Reformation, when the Catholic Church began to break up into sects, and when matters of theology began to gain the attention of the church rather than relief of suffering. Then it had to surrender a great part of this work to the state. The Church has always regarded charity as one of its fundamental principles, but its importance has dwindled. In some ways this is to be regretted; yet on the other hand, the Church never handled the matter competently probably causing more poverty by indiscriminate giving

than it relieved. The theory of the Church was that the more one gave, the greater would be the reward in heaven.

Charity Taken Over by the State.—At first pauperism was treated as a crime. Before the time of the Reformation the laws in regard to poverty were revolting in their severity, flogging and branding being the punishment for begging; while the indigent and suffering were left entirely to the care of the Church. But with the coming of the Reformation, when the Church split up into sects, it was impossible for this function to be performed longer by the Church, and to supply this need poor laws were introduced throughout Europe during the sixteenth century. Thus arose a public recognition of the responsibility of the community to look after its poor, rather than to leave them to the church. This work was generally entrusted to the town councils.

At Hamburg, as early as 1529, directions were published for the guidance of the overseers: "to visit the houses in their respective districts once every month, in order to make themselves acquainted with the circumstances of the poor; to provide employment for those who were able to work, to lend money without interest to those who were honest, and could with little assistance maintain an independent position, and lastly to grant permanent relief to the disabled and sick." [1]

In 1531 Emperor Charles V directed that "collections be made throughout the Netherlands for the settled poor —the idlers and rogues to be set to work; poor women and children provided for; the latter put to school, and afterwards placed out in service and trade." [2]

The law of the German Empire of 1577 ordered parishes "to support their own poor, send away stragglers, and provide accommodation for the sick." In fact, there sprang up over Northern Europe the general idea that each locality should make provisions for three classes of

[1] Fowle, T. W., *Poor Law*, pp. 22–23.
[2] Fowle, T. W., *Poor Law*, p. 23.

poor—the vagrant, the impotent, and the able-bodied out of work. Sometimes this was made compulsory, and sometimes only suggestions were made. England furnishes us the best example of these laws.

English Poor Laws, 1601–1834.—Until 1601 there was no relief policy in England worthy of the name. The laws hitherto were against the poor and the rights of labor. The laborer was reduced to a condition of servitude; he was confined to his place of birth and compelled to work for fixed wages. These were set by law, and sometimes by justices who were themselves employers of labor. The work rates were determined by the wages of the previous five or six years, or by the price of foodstuffs. If the laborer wandered around in search of work at the highest possible price, he was liable to barbarous punishments, such as whipping, branding, burning or cropping the ears, the pillory, imprisonment, and even death itself.

The law of 1601, which was a compilation of a series of previous measures, provided for the appointment of two or three overseers in each parish, whose duty it was to raise a poor rate by subscription or by taxation. Then if a person could not make a living, what he lacked was supplied from the general fund. It was thus a system of public charity with ample opportunity for abuse. If a man was out of work, the parish tried to provide work, even to the point of selling the labor of the pauper and making up the balance. Sometimes the man would be paid if he applied for work—a procedure which led to the practice of walking the "rounds" and to that of farmers certifying that so-and-so had called. Sometimes farmers were compelled to employ the paupers, thus being forced to discharge their regular hands. This law further offered the employers the inducement to establish lower wages; for the deficit would be made up from the poor rate. Of course the poor rates became oppressive, amounting finally to over $30,000,000 a year in England, which then had a population of only 11,000,000; and money was much more valuable then than it is to-day.

Rates became so high, indeed, that it was hard to find tenants for farms, the rates often amounting to as much as five dollars an acre. As a result the rate payer became worse off than the pauper. The poor laborer was in a more deplorable condition, for he had to work harder for lower wages and was in constant danger of being replaced by paupers. If one was industrious and saved, he received no work; so it was foolish to work hard; in fact many couples left home in order to live in the workhouse, where little work was required. All industry became disorganized. Better wages were frequently refused for fear of losing one's settlement and there was a general deterioration in industry and in morals. In the almshouses the inmates were well fed, but they lived in idleness, having nothing to occupy their attention.

This condition became intolerable; so in 1833 a Poor Law Commission was appointed, which drew up the act adopted by Parliament in the following year, and extended to Ireland in 1838 and to Scotland in 1845. The principal features of this act were the abandonment of the policy of relief to able-bodied persons, and the substitution of the celebrated "workhouse test," by means of which relief was to be given to the able-bodied only in well-regulated workhouses, where work was required of all. Unions or parishes were formed to build and operate these workhouses. They were uninviting and the relief given was such as only the destitute would accept. The commission thought that they had settled the question forever, for in this way aid would be limited to the worthy poor. But the system was too rigid and the problem of poverty became so serious that towards the end of the nineteenth century great dissatisfaction arose over its failure. As a result, the present system of social insurance was adopted in the early part of the twentieth century.

American Treatment of Poverty.—The American system has centered around the almshouse, but it is to be doubted if any other institution needs reform so much as the American poor-farm, for it is an institution that

has been sadly neglected. It has served as a catch-all for every class; the worthy poor, the feeble-minded, the insane, the epileptic, drunkards, prostitutes—all classes, in fact, from the able-bodied to the helpless; from the hard-working man or woman who has lived an honorable, upright life, but who is broken down in old age, to the drunken, immoral wreck who has done nothing but squander his or her talents; from the innocent orphan to the hardened, vulgar, dissolute, criminal ne'er-do-well. Almshouses are under the control of the county authorities, except those in the states of Maine, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Since 1890 there has been a tendency to consolidate the smaller ones, and hundreds of such unions have been effected. Also in recent years there has been a tendency to remove many persons from the almshouse who do not belong there, such as the feeble-minded, deaf and dumb, blind, insane, and epileptic.

The almshouse system has passed through four different stages, as follows:

(1) That in force before the erection of any special building, when the paupers were boarded out or sometimes farmed out to the lowest bidder.

(2) The first efforts at housing, when some old cottage or farm-house would be purchased. This would serve as a catch-all for old, infirm, insane, epileptic, and idiotic persons and for abandoned children and foundlings. Here they received little attention from the public, with the exception of grumbling over the expense they caused. The whole aim was economy, and the management of the place was generally given to the lowest bidder.

(3) The opposite extreme was a magnificent structure, imposing from the outside, but erected with no regard for comfort, being usually four or five stories high, and built with the same number of rooms for women as for men, although men outnumbered the women two or three to one. The writer well remembers a visit to such a poor-farm in LaFayette County, Missouri.

(4) The cottage plan, the houses being sometimes con-

nected by passage-ways. This plan allows separation of the sexes and provides for the different classes of inmates, and also for separate hospital cottages. This is the modern almshouse, and is the best plan, especially if enough land is provided for light outdoor employment of such as are still able to work.

Our almshouses in the past have been conducted in a deplorable manner; the inmates have been neglected and even at times abused. Generally they have been poorly fed, poorly clad, and badly housed, to say nothing of being deprived of the comforts of life. One has only to turn to the accounts of Professor Ellwood [3] in his investigation of Missouri almshouses to get a picture of such abuses.

But when we consider the difficulties of running the almshouse, such as (1) lack of money and the consequent poor pay which of course would attract only inefficient superintendents; (2) the class of inmates—the riff-raff and scum, the inefficient, the half-witted, and the crazy; (3) the stolid, unsympathetic, and inefficient person who would be attracted to, or be willing to accept the position of superintendent, and (4) the bad temper and unappreciativeness of the inmates—an attitude that would try the patience of the most sympathetic—it is no wonder that we have such miserable conditions. These difficulties were only exaggerated when the lease system was employed, for then a premium was put upon negligence and stinginess.

The management of the almshouse is not so serious socially when the inmates are old, for death will soon relieve the unfortunates, but it blasts the whole life of the child inmates. The neglect, ill treatment, and horrible environment kill all the good qualities and send the persons away destined to return later as permanent inmates. While this condition is slowly being remedied by the removal of many classes from the almshouse, and the better care of those remaining, this is a matter which needs our

[3] Ellwood, Charles A., *A Bulletin on the Condition of the County Almshouses in Missouri,* 1904.

attention probably more than any other phase of our relief policy. Professor Ellwood recommends three remedial lines of work: (1) visitation of the local board; (2) inspection by state authorities, and (3) mandatory and prohibitive legislation. Even at the best it is no easy matter to run an almshouse, considering the class of inmates. Then it is very difficult to find suitable work for all; but the inmates must be kept occupied if they are to be contented. Successful almshouse management requires tact and ability, far more in fact than will be found in the average person willing to undertake such work.

Other Relief Institutions.—Another class which has to be considered here is dependent children. There always have been and probably always will be orphan and dependent children. They were formerly one of the sources form which the ranks of slavery were recruited. The Church, especially the Roman Catholic Church, when it was at the height of its power, took care of these in the nunneries and monasteries and in orphan and foundling asylums. It did this, not from motives of philanthropy and altruism, but to win recruits. Foundling asylums are ancient institutions and have always been numerous in France, where the need of them, because of the widespread immorality, has always been great. There any one could leave a child with no questions asked, provision being frequently made to drop the child into a basket especially placed for the purpose. The foundling asylums were often supported by the state, as were the orphan asylums, and were frequently mismanaged, as Dickens has poignantly shown in Oliver Twist, a picture of life in the English orphan asylum.

In England the labor of orphans was sold to the factories, as we have seen in the discussion of Child Labor. The abuses in the past have been terrible. The death rate in the foundling asylums has been at times almost unbelievable, running even as high as ninety-seven per cent. This situation is unavoidable to some extent, because of the condition of the children upon admission; they have been poorly nourished, have received practically no care

in many cases, and often have been injured by efforts to kill them before birth. Yet when the babies are properly cared for, the death rate falls to almost normal, or at least somewhere near it. Ignorance and neglect of the attendants make it much higher than it otherwise would be. As a rule they take no interest in the child except to see that it makes as little trouble as possible, often using opiates to quiet it. They do not care whether the child lives or not; in fact nobody cares.

Considering the class from which these children come and the future before them, the question often arises whether a high death rate is wholly bad in the end, either for the public or the child itself. Another cause of the abnormally high death rate is found in the fact that babies cannot be reared by wholesale, but require individual attention and affection, even if other conditions, such as sunlight, air, food, and clothing, are good. The child misses the advantage of breast feeding, although this lack is sometimes overcome by boarding it out with a wet nurse—a procedure followed by the New York State Charities Aid Association with children under six months of age. By the careful boarding out of foundlings received from the charitable societies in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Brooklyn, the death rate was reduced from 59.9 per cent in 1898 to 11.6 per cent in 1906. In Massachusetts the practice of boarding out is carried on as far as possible, with a careful selection of homes. After the child grows up, he is subject to grave abuses, often being brutally treated not only in the institution but in the home. Where the system of placing out is used, it has to be supplemented by careful selection of families and rigid, frequent inspection afterwards to see that the child is properly treated.

While institutional care for children may have advantages, such as adequate food supply, sufficient clothes, a warm place in which to sleep, regular schooling, and protection from danger, these are more than outweighed by the disadvantages. Often the child is maltreated by hard-hearted and unsympathetic attendants. Not only

is the rate of mortality high, but the discipline is demoralizing to the child that survives; and even when the discipline is not harsh, the system makes a machine rather than a man of him. The child does not learn how to do the ordinary things of life, such as how to use matches and to care for fire, for such things are all done by attendants. At home the child learns to do such things and acquires some sense of responsibility. The children learn too easily to submit to rule, to discomfort or to pain. Attendants are employed who have institutional experience, persons who are thus able to suppress the children with the minimum of trouble, who remember that the more suppressed the child is, the less trouble it will give. As a result the child comes out of the institution with no sense of responsibility and no conception of the value of money. It does not develop independence, and so is seldom able to form sound judgments. In fact, institutional life totally unfits the individual for leadership. This tendency is overcome in some institutions by a system of self-government; probably the most famous of the institutions using such methods being the George Junior Republic. The Massachusetts system is likewise a good one. This is a combination plan, in which about forty per cent of the children, mostly the young ones, are boarded out, about forty-five per cent placed in families, and only about fifteen per cent cared for in institutions. Placing in private institutions is used sometimes, but it is, as a general rule, bad, for it subsidizes private institutions and too often discourages private philanthropy, even if it does not lead to graft; moreover the treatment is not always the best.

The best methods should include, if possible, an attempt to repair the breaches and defects of the home, before breaking up the family relation, and then, accept institutional care only as a temporary expedient for such classes as the deaf, the feeble-minded, deformed, incurable, and delinquent children. A selected private home, chosen with great care and visited under a system of careful supervision, is the best substitute. There is also a

growing demand for supervision of private institutions. Small institutions are at a disadvantage because of the cost of placing out and the consequent supervision.

So far as institutions are necessary, they should be organized on the cottage plan, with only a limited number of children to each cottage, and in charge of a house mother. While our orphanages are becoming more efficient, the present tendency is to use them only as a sort of clearing house till some permanent arrangement can be made for the child; also to care for those children who cannot be satisfactorily placed out. Charitably inclined persons, who have had more money than knowledge of our social needs, have been very generous in their gifts for orphanages and we are now probably oversupplied with orphanages. As a result, many of these institutions are little more than boarding schools. So the orphanage seems to be passing out as an important social institution, giving way to scientific placing out of children under supervision, and systems of social insurance, such as mothers' pensions, and the like.

Another kind of relief work demanding institutional treatment is the care of the destitute sick. In the past thirty or forty years the attitude towards hospitals has changed; they are no longer regarded as places in which to die, but as places in which to get well. It is now recognized that the poor man who is not able to pay anything should receive as good treatment as the rich. As a result of an attempt to obtain these two conditions the cost of hospital service nearly doubled between 1870 and 1910, on account of increase in the cost of food, better care and accommodations, and higher pay to nurses. Of the money which it took to maintain the hospitals of the United States in 1903, 18.1 per cent was paid by annual subsidies from public funds; 43.2 per cent was met by pay patients; and the remainder was obtained from charity. Under present conditions there are two classes of persons who receive expert medical attention; the rich or well-to-do, who can afford to pay for the best medical attention, including hospital care and nursing, and the

very poor or pauper class, who cannot or will not pay anything but who receive almost the same expertness of care—with possibly less agreeable surroundings—at public expense. The greatest need along this line just now seems to be to provide the same expert care for the respectable middle classes, who are too independent and self-respecting to accept or claim poor relief but who are unable to pay the high prices charged the rich. This is receiving the attention of the medical profession and attempts are now being made to grade fees for operations, medical attention and even hospital care in accordance with the ability of these classes to pay. This requires tact and care in working out but it certainly is not for the interests of society to either make paupers out of self-respecting citizens or to allow these hard working, respectable members of society to go without proper medical treatment and attention because they cannot pay the high rates now charged. Although the number of hospitals and their facilities are increasing, there are still not enough of them. Some of the motives leading to the development of medical charities have been the following:[4] (1) the desire to aid the destitute; (2) zeal to advertise a religious faith; (3) the ambition to educate students and build up medical reputations; (4) the wish to protect the public health against infection and contagion; (5) the economic motive to restore earning power and thus save loss of wages. The fifth motive has prompted corporations to provide hospitals for their workers.

Two types of hospitals appear in the United States:

(1) The municipal, developed from the almshouse or city jail, where it originated in the attempt to treat the patients there. While such a hospital is liable to political mismanagement (the past has shown much graft and poor management), these conditions are rapidly being removed, and we now have many efficient city hospitals.

(2) Corporate, generally managed by an unsalaried board composed of prominent citizens, ministers, business

[4] First four motives taken from Warner, *American Charities*, second edition (1908), p. 304.

men, and philanthropists. Though such men often know nothing about methods of running a hospital, the efficiency of these institutions is constantly increasing.

The death rate in hospitals has decreased greatly in the past thirty years, especially in the free city hospitals. This decrease is due largely to the greater efficiency of the nurses, obtained through the establishment of nursing schools, and by the use of civil service examinations in the appointment of nurses.

Mention should also be made of the increase and spread in usefulness of the dispensaries in the United States. Most of these charge a small fee for medicines for those who are able to pay. These dispensaries aid people who are down and out, those who are in need of medical attention but cannot afford to go to a physician; also those who can afford to pay a small sum for medicines and treatment, but who cannot pay for private medical care. The dispensaries are supplemented by the district and visiting nurses who help the sick in their own homes and —what is still more important—try to prevent sickness or at least check it before it has reached a serious stage. Closely akin to these are the clinics and public health centers, which are now springing up everywhere. The most important of these are possibly those for the care of babies and small children. Also clinics for the care and treatment of special diseases, such as the venereal diseases, are rendering valuable service. Tubercular clinics have also greatly increased. This whole line of work is very important because so much of it is preventive.

Special hospitals for certain diseases and homes for the incurable are further extensions of this work of medical relief. While rapidly increasing these are still inadequate. They are in line with the modern theory of the prevention of poverty. Dental dispensaries are among the latest developments. The United Charities of Chicago maintains two such for the poor; in 1915 these performed daily dental operations at an average cost of six and one-half cents.

Homes for the aged are also increasing. Care for the

aged by means of old age pensions or insurance is now receiving attention. Some system of old age insurance, modeled possibly after the French system, which would be financed by contributions by the worker and by the employer seems more sound, for it would preserve the self-respect of the worker, allow him to remain in his own home and support himself from the proceeds of his own industry without any drain upon society. The present tendency in the United States is towards the English policy of granting pensions from public funds provided by taxation. We are probably not ready for an old age insurance policy in the United States, and probably will not be till we have learned a lesson from paying out several billions of dollars from the proceeds of taxation.

Outdoor Relief.—In addition to the indoor relief given in the various institutions, outdoor relief, or relief given the poor in their homes, other than medical, has been used a great deal in the past. The character of such relief has changed greatly in recent years, for there is a tendency to substitute private for public relief; not to aid the person because that person is poor, but to help lift him out of his condition or prevent his falling below the poverty line. The old method of doling out a few dollars or some groceries is not followed so much now as formerly, largely because of the abuses attendant in the past, especially in the large eastern cities. When this method is followed it is only to provide partial aid or temporary relief.

There are arguments in favor of retaining public outdoor relief, such as:[5]

(1) It is the natural method as being an expression of the spirit of neighborliness. It does not break up the family or separate dependent persons from friends and neighbors. The disgrace is less, because the help is less conspicuous, although this is not always an advantage.

(2) It is argued that it is more economical, for most families can almost make a living, and hence it is folly to

[5] Warner, Amos G., *American Charities* (third edition, 1918), pp. 208–209 (Crowell).

break up the family and thus increase expense. Yet, on the other hand, the number of persons helped will grow, and the total cost may even increase, because otherwise many families would manage for themselves.

(3) One of the strongest arguments is found in the fact that there are not enough institutions and that greater equipment would be demanded if public relief were not provided. It would be uneconomical to meet these demands, for the amount of poverty fluctuates with the seasons and with prosperity. Institutions sufficient to meet all demands would be empty most of the time.

(4) Individual private charity, the alternative of public outdoor relief, is uncertain and unreliable, depending upon emotion, sentiment and prosperity. When it would be needed the most it would be least forthcoming, as was evidenced in the winter of 1914–15, when the charity organizations all over the country were hardest pressed for aid, and when necessary funds were hardest to secure because of the hard times. Also under individual private charities relief is liable to be duplicated.

Against such arguments are advanced the following counter-arguments:[6]

(1) Except in small communities there can be no real inspection or supervision, and no chance for investigation of appeals for aid. The policy generally followed is to make it as difficult as possible to get relief; the actual result is that those who need it get disgusted and only the unworthy receive it. Relief thus becomes mechanical and unsympathetic.

(2) Unless the receipt of relief is made unpleasant, the number of paupers will be increased. There would be less incentive to save, for the state could always be depended upon. This increase would more than make up for all the contributions of paupers to their own support.

(3) Such a relief policy would lead to political corruption, such as occurred in Rome. This situation is much more important in the cities, especially the large ones,

[6] Warner, Amos G., *American Charities* (third edition, 1918), pp. 209–210 (Crowell).

but is found even in the small towns. Giving is done to curry favor and to further political ambitions.

(4) If such relief is lavish it results in a reduction in wages, for employers know that the deficiency in wages will be made up out of public relief. This was the result in England.

(5) And what is perhaps the most important of all, lavish relief would destroy thrift and self-respect. For why should any one work when the public treasury is open? People would receive help or ask for it, because their neighbors did the same.

The whole matter simmers down to a question of administration. As a rule public outdoor relief is generally preferred only in small towns and rural communities, except in cases of special classes of defectives, who can be better cared for in institutions. On the other hand, private relief is preferred in large cities, except in cases demanding partial or temporary relief.

Charity Organizations.—The alternative to public relief instead of being indiscriminate private relief, is organized charity. The movement towards organization began in Europe, where it early manifested itself in the principal cities, such as Paris, Berlin, and Vienna. This occurred about the middle of the past century. The movement spread to England and America, and first found a foothold in the United States in 1877, when the Buffalo Charity Organization Society was established. Since then it has spread to nearly all our cities and even been adopted by counties. This was done to avoid duplication, to divide up the work so as to cover all needs, and to see that each endeavor had its share of funds. Such a plan not only prevented overlapping, but eliminated impostors. Co-operation was obtained through the comparison of records kept in a central office equipped with card catalogues. Prompt relief could be obtained by bringing the case to the attention of the proper authorities. Better results were secured also in the collection of funds through co-operation. This work was later supplemented by endorsement committees generally appointed by the

commercial associations or chambers of commerce, who investigated the different charitable organizations and required them to conduct their affairs in accordance with business principles, to spend their funds wisely, and to see also that there was a real need. Then there was usually coupled with this some method of raising funds by tag-day, assessment, or general subscription. In this way those willing to contribute knew where their money went and how it was spent; therefore, they responded much more liberally. Charity organization thus was really the conducting of charity in accordance with business methods. It had its failings as well as advantages; for relief often became mechanical, and too much system and red-tape were frequently employed. The endorsement committees were often composed of business men who were not familiar with charity work and the needs of the community, and who were not always competent persons to pass upon charity matters. In general, however, this plan of organization enabled much more efficient work to be done and much greater undertakings to be carried through. It was a great improvement upon indiscriminate private giving and unorganized charity. Such charity had to some extent the personal touch and a certain discrimination which public charity is rarely capable of giving. Under this system charity could not be claimed as a right, as occurs in many cases with public relief. It, however, was not always able to meet a great calamity or crisis when it arose, because in such a crisis the difficulty of raising funds also increased.

Community Chests.—The next step in the treatment of poverty and destitution was along the lines of greater business efficiency and came about as the outgrowth of the charity organization movement. At first tag days were very successful and popular, but because of this many agencies began to use them and the public again grew tired. There naturally arose the need of expert help in passing upon the appeals of various charitable organizations, allotting their amounts and deciding on the general policies of management so as to avoid over-lapping

and waste, as well as the raising of adequate funds. This meant that some permanent expert should be secured for this work and some definite organization should be established. So as a result of various experiments there arose the organization which now generally goes under the name of "community chest." This is simply the old charity organization idea carried a little farther. It retains the card index filing system, the confidential exchange, which kept records and gave out information to all of its members in regard to any case or individual when needed. Then there was added a paid—often highly paid—executive secretary, who took the place of the former secretary of the United Charities, when there was one. This official smooths out organization difficulties as they arise and is responsible for the efficiency of the organization and, what is still more important, sees that the money needed is raised. A budget is carefully made out in accordance with the needs of the various organizations in the "chest." This, of course, requires great diplomacy for not only will some want more than their share but some philanthropies are much more popular than others. Then plans must be made to raise this, generally by one big drive made at some opportune time, in which all persons in the city are interviewed and subscriptions obtained. To do this successfully, those able and willing to give large amounts are generally handled by more expert persons and an attempt is made to get people to give in accordance with their ability. This method has become so popular that in 1926 over 300 cities in the United States, with an aggregate population of 24,000,000, had such organizations and spent approximately $57,000,000 a year.[7]

While the community chest organization has added greatly to the efficiency and usefulness of relief work, it is not without its problems or dangers. One of these, which is attracting the attention of the sociologists, is its effect in the way of social control. Because of the large salaries usually attached, the position of executive secre-

[7] Riley, T. J., *Progress of Social Work*, Publications of the Amer. Sociol. Soc., Vol. XXI (1927), p. 206.

tary has been much sought after and has attracted the smooth political organizer type of person. Because the success of this official depends so much upon how he gets along with the heavy contributors this man must mingle with the wealthy, especially at the luncheon clubs. He must not only be a mixer but a clever speech-maker, who can always make a good impression and at the same time not say too much. This is all very well, but the type of person who can do this successfully is not always the person with the highest moral and social ideals. Often his chief interest is that of holding down his own position. So as a result the work done by the various organizations under him must not be of such a nature as to offend the heavy contributors. The work thus tends to become routine and mechanical. There is coming in the demand for specially trained routine workers, who will be content to go on their daily rounds and do their routine work in an efficient and orderly manner without asking any questions about the great underlying causes of the misery which they are relieving. While routine skill is increasing and more funds are available there is the danger that social work will become automatic and fall into the rut into which teaching has already fallen. If this tendency increases, programs for the prevention of poverty will become more difficult to carry out and the ablest and most altruistic of the social workers will be eliminated.

The Elberfeld System.—A system of relief and charity organization known sometimes as the Hamburg-Elberfeld, because it originated in Hamburg and was developed to its present high state in Elberfeld, Germany, but more commonly called the Elberfeld system, has not only been generally adopted throughout Europe, but has been recognized as one of the best, if not the best, relief system ever devised. It started in Hamburg about 1765 at a time when a vast amount of poverty and misery was present in Europe, when the streets of Hamburg were lined with beggars, and when thousands were asking for aid, having been attracted there because of the great prosperity of that place. The scheme was proposed by a certain Pro-

fessor Bush; it divided the city into districts, over each of which an overseer was appointed. The overseers reported to a central office. Giving to beggars was forbidden, an industrial school for children was established, and a hospital provided; but most important of all, the poor were taught to help themselves. The system freed Hamburg of beggars and relieved the poverty situation. Later, however, it was abandoned. It was revived in Elberfeld with some modifications in 1852 and has continued. There it operates as follows: The city is divided into districts, over each of which an overseer, or almoner, as he is called, is appointed, who looks after the poor cases in his district, and who has general oversight of living conditions. This almoner is unpaid and the service is compulsory, or rather if it is not given when required an extra rate is imposed upon the person refusing and he loses his voting privilege for a period of years. But as the office is considered a stepping-stone to political preferment, few people object to the work, and very able people accept it. Then since the districts are so small that never more than four cases, and seldom more than one or two, are given to each almoner, the service is personal and intimate and takes the form of true neighborliness. Because of the patriotic interest in it the work is done very efficiently. These small districts are included in larger districts; the almoners meet fortnightly, and the chairmen of these meetings report to a central committee of nine, which has charge of the relief system of the whole city. This central committee includes a trained paid administrator and paid assistants. It prepares instructions for the district leaders and the visitors, divides up the work, appoints the visitors, supervises the hospitals, investigates causes of poverty, initiates legislation, and institutes other measures of amelioration.

The success of the scheme is shown by the fact that the population of Elberfeld increased from 50,000 in 1852 to 162,000 in 1904, whereas the number of those receiving either temporary or permanent help increased only from 4,000 to 7,689, or a decrease of from 8 to 4.7 per cent of

the population. The cost of relief for each person in 1852 was eighty-nine cents and in 1904 eighty-eight cents—a great reduction when we take into consideration the increase in amount of wealth and the fall in the value of money. While this system has not been adopted to any great extent in America, it offers us many valuable suggestions; with some changes made to fit the conditions, it might be well adapted to relief needs in this country, especially in smaller cities.

Public vs. Private Relief.—A great deal of discussion has arisen over the advantages and disadvantages of the two plans of relief—public and private. Much could be said in favor of each. It might be laid down as a general principle that for new lines of work, involving experimentation and exploration of a new field, private philanthropy is better. But when the public is educated to the need of a definite plan of action, when the work has reached such a state of development that it can be systematized, and when the need is more or less permanent, it might be better to turn the task over to public authorities. As a rule, private philanthropy is much more easily directed to something that is new, but after the work becomes familiar, interest is apt to die out. On the other hand, public authorities are not so well fitted to carry on new work, but are better fitted to carry on old lines of work. When a certain type of work is needed and demanded by the public, it is only fair and just that the public should be asked to carry the burden and not to leave it to a few philanthropists. Public and private work can go hand in hand and not be antagonistic. Private philanthropy is good in that it encourages altruism and allows those who are able to relieve the sufferings of those who are less fortunate. Then public charity is necessary for the reason that there are lines of work which involve great expense, but work which cannot be permitted to be dropped or crippled in any way through lack of well-organized effort.

The Trend of Modern Social Work.—Former ages accepted poverty, misery, distress, incapacity, and industrial

slavery as inevitable. As a rule people tried not to notice suffering and wretchedness but to keep away from it; like the priest and Levite, they passed by on the other side of the road. Now we recognize that not only can poverty, disease, and misery be done away with, but that they must be; that unless we stop them we shall be engulfed by the degenerate classes. While some social workers are too busy picking up those who have fallen off the cliff to stop to build a fence at the top, others are building fences and trying to prevent people from falling. In other words, prevention is the keyword of all future philanthropic work. Help those who need relief, but still more try to put them upon their feet so that they will not need help in the future. Then what is still more important, remove the causes of poverty and prevent others from falling below the poverty line; lock the stable door before the horse is stolen. If low wages cause poverty, adopt a minimum wage schedule. If intemperance is the cause, work for prohibition. If bad sanitation is the cause, put in sewers and better plumbing. If bad housing conditions are the cause, adopt a better building code and see that unsanitary houses are not occupied. Alleviate present poverty, but see that the conditions which caused it are removed.

It must, of course, be remembered that the above is still more of an ideal than a reality and, as has just been indicated, there is just now a reaction to such development. We are making progress, however. We realize that social work cannot be done in a routine machine manner. Each case must be handled by itself. The case method has definitely come into social work. The effort of all case workers is not merely to give relief or even to tide the family over its trouble but to find out the causes and if possible remove them and put the family back upon a self-sufficient basis. In this work modern psychology and psychiatry are made use of and marked progress is made in handling individual cases. In carrying out such work the social organizations are much more generous than formerly and will not hesitate on really

heavy expenditures in the way of training or education or in medical attention if they feel that by so doing they can make the family self-supporting. The present tendency seems to be to consider the family as a unit and to regard social work more as family welfare work rather than to look upon it as charity or even relief work. All such tendencies are in the right direction. But to really prevent poverty we must go even deeper than the putting of individual families upon their feet. We will need campaigns of education and programs of prevention.

Program for Prevention of Poverty.—In our discussion of the causes of poverty we have pointed out in most cases the measures for curing them. In addition to such measures the hope of the future lies along the following lines:

1. The advancement and continuance of all movements to prevent or remove bad conditions, such as those working for better housing, pure milk, better sanitation, the draining of swamps, disposal of garbage, irrigation, and the prevention and cure of disease; such institutions as the Rockefeller Foundation, which has among its various objects the search for cures of diseases; tuberculosis sanitariums; schools for the feeble-minded, blind, deaf, and epileptic; the building of hospitals and the spread of their usefulness; the establishment of free dispensaries; the extension of the work of visiting nurses and probation officers; the building of social settlements; and all like methods of removing the conditions in society that produce poverty.

2. Our educational systems should be improved, so as to fit better for both the production and consumption of wealth. The entire school curriculum should be better adapted to the child mind and to social needs. Manual and vocational training should receive greater emphasis, and girls should receive more effective training in cooking, care of children, and household management. The educational values in play and recreation should be more widely recognized, and more adequate facilities for the expenditure of leisure time provided.

3. The worker should be adequately protected against dangerous machinery and unsanitary conditions in factories and other places of employment. The working day should not be so long that the worker's physical efficiency is impaired.

4. A number of measures are necessary to protect and improve the worker's standard of living. A better method of settling industrial disputes should be devised, so as to obviate wage losses due to strikes and lockouts. Monopoly profits should be curbed, and prices of living necessities regulated by public authority, where necessary. A better system of marketing foodstuffs should be established so as to do away with unnecessary middlemen. Co-operative stores and marketing systems should be encouraged. Minimum wage legislation should be enacted for underpaid trades which the unions are unable to organize. Business and industry should be established upon more stable foundations, and financial panics and industrial depressions prevented. The labor market should be effectively organized through a nation-wide system of employment exchanges. Other measures requisite to the reduction of unemployment to a minimum should be adopted, such as the greater stabilization of business.

5. A comprehensive system of social insurance—covering industrial accidents, occupational diseases, sickness, unemployment, and death of family wage-earners—should be established throughout the country. The value of such insurance has been amply demonstrated and the time is rapidly coming for the general adoption of such a system in the United States.

While poverty can never be abolished entirely, it can be eliminated as the great overshadowing problem that it is to-day. There will always be those who cannot stand on their own feet, no matter how many opportunities they have; but we can bring about a state of affairs when those who will may have the opportunity not only of maintaining themselves but of bettering their position. At least we ought to have a system under which anyone who is able-bodied, fairly efficient, and equipped with normal

intellect will be able not only to support himself and family but to bring into the world children who will have equally good opportunities.

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CHAPTER XXIV

CRIME

The second great problem of maladjustment confronting society is that of crime. It is vitally connected with poverty and goes hand in hand with it. Poverty produces and is the product of crime. Also, conditions of crime are interwoven with conditions of poverty. When we touch one we generally find the other. By this we do not imply that the poor are more apt to be criminally inclined than the rich, but that poverty produces crime and crime produces poverty and that both are products of similar conditions.

What Is Crime?—Crime is the violation of a law and is not necessarily wrong-doing, although it usually is. An act may be evil and yet not criminal, because it may violate no law. Again an act may be moral and altruistic and yet criminal, even punishable with death. A criminal is one who breaks a law; he is not necessarily an evil-doer. He is frequently a benefactor of mankind; shining examples are Socrates, Huss, and Christ, all of whom were executed as criminals. On the other hand, some of the world's greatest malefactors have escaped the taint of being criminals, for they violated no law. Yet while crime is primarily a legal concept, it has its social bearing as well, for laws are the result of public opinion, and an act cannot be considered a crime unless society puts a stamp of disapproval upon it. A crime is an act that society has condemned and upon the committing of which society has put a penalty. Society, however, is continually changing its attitude in regard to what it considers harmful or advantageous. What is a crime to-day may not be one to-morrow, and what is legal to-day may be a crime to-morrow; moreover, what is legal in the United States may be a crime in Germany—formerly *lèse-majesté*

was an example of this. Even what is a crime in Massachusetts may not be such in South Carolina, as the employment of child labor, for instance. So crime differs with the time and place; yet it depends upon public opinion for its definition. Many curious examples may be given, such as driving with reins, once a crime in Russia. Francis I, in 1635, forbade printing in France under penalty of the gallows. The Ionians condemned to exile those never seen to laugh. The Carthaginians killed the losing general. Spain for a long time did likewise to a commander who surrendered an army, and in accordance with this principle the commander who made such a plucky defense at Santiago against the Americans had to stand trial for his life upon his return to Spain, and only because public sentiment had changed did he escape with his life. By the Julian Law celibacy was a crime; and Sparta stripped and scourged her confirmed bachelors in the market place in mid-winter.

Law generally distinguishes between major and minor crimes; the former are termed felonies and the latter misdemeanors. Not only are punishments graded accordingly, but society looks upon the two classes in a different manner. Also special privileges are accorded the person who commits a misdemeanor which are not allowed to the felon.

Different Kinds of Criminals.—Many attempts have been made to classify the criminal either biologically or psychologically, and many ingenious classifications have been worked out. None of these is perfect, and yet all are suggestive. The following scheme is given for its suggestiveness, and is of course open to criticism:

(1) *The Habitual Criminal,* a normal person with a tendency to drift into crime, a tendency acquired because of his environment. This class includes the professional burglar and yeggman, who are ranked among the most desperate of criminals; but the bulk of this group are weak persons who are not able to resist the temptation, and who are not strong enough to change their habits even if they so desire. In the past, society has made it

harder for them to reform, because of its ostracism of the man with a criminal record. It is estimated that the habitual criminals comprise from thirty to forty per cent of the criminal population.

(2) *The Occasional Criminal.*—This class of criminal differs from the *habitual* in being intermediate between the habitual and the single offender. The difference is largely one of degree. They are chiefly weak persons, who do not as a rule want to follow a criminal career, and who under favorable conditions will not do so. But when the extra temptation arises, as the result of drink, drugs, anger, need or excessive financial inducement, they are unable to resist and fall. The ranks of the habitual criminals are recruited, however, largely from this class for when they acquire a criminal reputation or get into criminal habits it becomes very difficult to turn back and the individual slips over into the ranks of the habitual.

(3) *The Single Offender,* the person who commits a crime from impulse, or anger, or while under the influence of liquor. One of the greatest faults of our penal system in the past has been that it has driven this type of casual offender into the ranks of the habitual offender. These people are criminals more in the legal than in the social sense, for very often the provocation is so great that the act in itself might be very justifiable from the moral or ethical standpoint. This class, it is estimated, forms from thirty to fifty per cent of our prison population; it is for this class that the indeterminate sentence, probation, and parole are especially intended.

(4) *Feeble-minded and Mentally Diseased.*—Such should never be classified under the head of criminals, but unfortunately a heavy percentage of our prison population belongs to one or the other of these two classes. As we shall see in a later chapter, the feeble-minded fall easily into crime, and make up a large proportion of the inmates of our prisons and reformatories, especially the latter. As a rule the insane are sent to asylums, but some go to prison.

Another class formerly was frequently added and that

was the *instinctive* or *born criminal,* but now the very existence of such a class is seriously questioned. The moral imbecile—if there ever was such a person—was thought to be a good example or illustration of this group. It was even estimated by some that from five to seven per cent of our criminals belonged to this group. Now the tendency is to classify such people under feeble-minded or mentally diseased criminals. While the weakness, which caused their becoming criminal might have been inherited, this weakness was mental or physical and not social or legal.

The question at once arises: Shall all these different classes be treated alike, even when the offense is the same? Naturally we say no, but the proper differentiation of treatment is another problem.

Extent of Crime.—As to the exact extent of crime we have no trustworthy figures. We have statistics giving the number of prisoners and convictions each year, but these data give us no idea of the number of crimes committed, for many crimes are never detected and, even though the crimes may be discovered, many offenders are not caught. Besides, many of those who are caught are freed by our courts, even when guilty, through some fault of the law or because of the ability of the defendant's counsel. On the other hand sometimes the innocent are convicted. Many are also put on probation or parole. So prison statistics do not give us accurate information on the subject. Many are convicted several times during the year, which adds to the unreliability of statistics on the extent of crime.

In order to give some idea of the size of our prison population, a few figures are necessary; but because of the small value of such statistics only a few will be given. In 2,341 penal institutions in the United States [1] there were, on January 1, 1923, 109,619 [2] persons serving sen-

[1] Including 3 Federal prisons, 61 state prisons, 38 state reformatories, 1900 county jails, workhouses, farms, chain gangs, etc., and 338 municipal jails and workhouses.

[2] Includes 544 for whom no schedules were received, so impossible to classify in regard to sex, nativity, age, etc.

tences, 99.7 per 100,000 population or about one-tenth of one per cent of our population. Of these, 103,883 were males and 5,192 females: 58,238 were native whites; 15,061 were foreign-born whites, and 34,178 were colored. In addition to these there should be added those on parole and on probation. During the year 1923 there were 357,493 commitments to these penal institutions, or about one-third of one per cent of our population. In addition 18,640 were committed to juvenile reformatories. This does not mean that only the number of persons specified were convicted that year; in fact, it is estimated that at least 1,000,000 are convicted of some offense each year, and the great majority of them being offenders who pay fines, escape by new trials, are put on probation, die, or escape. The fact that 1,000,000 persons are convicted does not mean that only 1,000,000 crimes are committed each year, for a vast number of crimes are never detected, especially the minor offenses, such as violation of city ordinances. It is possibly a good thing that many of these escape detection, for the majority of people commit such violations almost every day of their lives, sometimes consciously and sometimes unconsciously. But, unfortunately, too many serious crimes go unpunished. *The Chicago Tribune,* has for years, with the help of the Associated Press, kept a record of the number of homicides. These run between six and ten thousand each year. Yet those committed to prison each year for homicide amount only to a little over one-fourth of that number, being 2,444 for 1904, as against 8,482 homicides. The rest are not caught, not convicted if caught, die, or escape. The largest proportion of these homicides occur in southern and western states, Texas leading with about 1,000 each year. The fact that so many crimes go unpunished, especially after the criminal is caught, carries a serious criticism of our legal procedure. Too many escape conviction through taking advantage of legal technicalities; in fact, the letter of the law is considered more than the spirit of it. This we shall see to be one of the causes of crime, especially

serious crime, and one of the special causes of the increase of crime in the United States.

We often hear the question, Is crime on the increase? If we examine prison statistics we come to the conclusion that it is; for in 1860 our prison population was only 19,086, or one prisoner to every 1,647, and in 1910 our prison population was 109,619, or one prisoner to every 1,009 of the general population. Moreover, since 1860 we have adopted probation and parole and have shortened sentences a great deal. On the other hand, we have added to the list of crimes, having now a great many more acts punishable by imprisonment. Then in many localities we have increased our police efficiency. So it is extremely difficult to form any definite opinion. There is no question as to the increase in the number of petty crimes and misdemeanors, such as the breaking of city ordinances, due to the tremendous increase in the number of these laws. But when it comes to the serious crimes like murder, arson, and burglary, we are not so certain. The number increases, of course, but whether or not in proportion to the growth of population is a question. Prison statistics for the past few years show an increase in these graver offenses, but whether this is in part due to greater efficiency in our methods of detection and conviction is a question. Without doubt it is owing partly to our faulty prison systems in the past, as well as to the lack of fear of our courts. Ellwood[3] believes that the decrease in both grave and minor crimes in England has been due to their excellent prison system and to the quickness and sureness of the English courts, which stand in striking contrast to our slow, clumsy, and inefficient courts.

Cost of Crime.—The cost of crime in the United States is enormous, but as to exact figures we again have nothing definite; at best we have only estimates. As to the probable expense to the government for court machinery, police protection, prisons, and general repression of crime, we

[3] Ellwood, Charles A., *Sociology and Modern Social Problems,* p. 335, 1924 revision (American Book Co.).

can make a fairly good estimate, although there is some variation in the estimates because of other functions being involved. This cost has been placed as high as $1,000,000,000 a year, but to this must be added the destruction of property, cost of protection to individuals, and loss of time to the public at large—altogether aggregating probably twice the amount of the actual governmental cost. Mr. Edward H. Smith writing in *Business*[4] estimates this grand total at the enormous sum of $10,000,000,000 a year for the United States. Included in this estimate are the following items; bucket-shop, board-of-trade swindles, land swindles and other confidence games having to do with stocks, bonds and futures, $2,000,000,000 (other estimates here vary from $1,000,000,000 to $3,000,000,000); embezzlements, $125,000,000; burglaries, $525,000,000; forgery and check raising, $100,000,000; fraudulent bankruptcies, $400,000,000; bad debts to wholesale merchants, $150,000,000; worthless checks, $100,000,000; political graft, looting of the public domain, thefts from the various governments, $200,000,000 (when we consider the graft in the Federal Government alone during Harding's administration, including the oil scandals, alien property graft, and the wasting of $500,000,000 in the Veteran's Bureau alone during Forbes' administration, this estimate seems quite moderate); direct stealing by criminals themselves $3,500,000,000; and the social wastage in the loss of work, which Mr. Smith calls "industrial wastage," $1,500,000,000. There are of course many other items of cost, such as insurance, to say nothing of the intangible or social losses, such as the loss in confidence, etc. This estimate may, of course, be high; yet the cost of crime is tremendous in this country, though probably not so great as that of poverty.

Causes of Crime.—As with poverty, we shall find that the causes of crime are interlocking and cumulative, and also difficult to separate and study; although they are easier to trace than are those of poverty. We shall first

[4] Issue of July 5, 1924.

study the objective causes, or those outside the individual, and then the subjective, or causes pertaining to the individual. Significant, also, are three basic conditions of crime: (1) motive for the crime; (2) opportunity to commit crime; and (3) absence of opposition or restraint. The first two are positive, and the last one negative.

Objective Causes of Crime.—Under this head come the causes due to physical and social environment.

1. *Physical Environment.*—Climate while a minor factor has something to do with the nature of crime, and also its extent. We find that crimes against the person, such as murder or assault, are much more frequent in hot climates than in cold, not only because of the greater excitability of the individual, but also because life is held cheaper in warm than in cold regions, as it is easier to rear and support large families. Then, too, the death rate being higher, people living in warm climates are more accustomed to seeing death and grow more hardened to it. The same is found true in regard to seasons, there being more crimes against the person in warm weather than in cold. On the contrary, we find that crimes against property increase with cold weather, being much more serious in winter than in summer. The temptation increases with cold weather: the demand for food, clothes, and shelter grows greater, as the opportunity of providing them becomes less; hence a resort to unlawful measures follows. Every winter we find newspapers calling attention to the so-called "crime wave" that is sweeping their city or the country. The same situation does not always, however, hold true in regard to climates, for the inhabitants of Africa, Central America, and other warm climates are noted for their thieving habits. But this is probably due to the fact that northern countries have stabler governments.

2. *Social Environment.*—The causes included under this heading are much more important, and at the same time much harder to separate and analyze, than those due to physical environment. These come under several heads.

(1) Family Demoralization.—In our treatment of

divorce, we found that the breaking up of the family produced, among other things, juvenile delinquency. Again in our discussion of poverty we found that the children of parents who are obliged to be away from home to work are thrown out upon the street to shift for themselves. This naturally leads to delinquency and crime. We found also that the inmates of the reform schools and children coming before the juvenile courts come from the homes that are broken up or demoralized by family troubles and by poverty; in fact, between eighty-five and ninety per cent of the children in the reform schools come from disorganized homes. Dependent children drift into crime for the same reasons. Illegitimate children are still more prone to commit crime, for not only are they subject to all such temptations, but they are shunned by society. Domestic troubles also contribute to the crime of adults as well, for if the home is not happy, the tendency is to drift to the poolroom, dance hall, and gambling table. The majority of prisoners in the United States are unmarried—sixty-four per cent in 1904—but this is partly the result of crime, the inmates spending so much time in prison that the opportunity of marrying is limited. The life of crime does not allow one to settle down; it keeps the criminal constantly on the move. On the other hand, family life has its steadying effect on the individual, especially if that family life is happy.

(2) Poverty.—We have already seen that poverty and crime go hand in hand. Poverty increases temptation, incites dissatisfaction with government, and breeds a contempt for law and order, arising from the belief that government protects merely the wealthy, and that the law was made for the rich man and not for the poor. When a man has a family that is in dire need, and when he at the same time can not get employment or earn a living wage, there is a real cause for this way of thinking. Poverty tends to discourage, and thus often leads to crime. Of course poverty does not inevitably result in crime, but it intensifies the temptation and so increases crime—that is, if the poverty is extreme. People are continually want-

ing things, and if they cannot get them legally they frequently are not strong enough to withstand the temptation to get them illegally. This is seen even among well-to-do people. Lack of work, rise in cost of food, etc., generally increase crime.

(3) Maladjustment of Industry.—Strikes, lockouts, periods of depression, financial crises, and changes in industry destabilize conditions and lead to violence and crime. This is especially true in times of strikes and lockouts, when both sides lose control of themselves and resort to violence; then destruction of property, blows, and even murder are the result. To the list of contributing causes might be added low wages, child labor, long hours of work, and the like.

(4) Density of Population.—We find more crime in cities than in rural districts, not because people in cities are naturally criminal—for they are not—but because temptation is greater, and there is greater opportunity to commit crime. Criminals go from the small towns and rural districts to the centers of population in order to avoid detection. Because of this, about twice as many crimes, relative to population, are committed in cities as in the country. The "flops" of Chicago are favorite hiding places of criminals; so are the "east side" of New York, the "east side" of London, and the "north end" of Kansas City.

(5) Defective Courts and Penal System.—The fact that many offenders escape punishment creates a disregard for law. Severity of punishment never deters, for everyone is egotistic enough to think that if anyone can escape he can. What does deter is certainty of detection and punishment, even if the punishment be light. The fact that so many slip through our courts advertises their inefficiency. Bungling methods of handling the prisoner after he is sentenced increase crime, for instead of working towards reformation, as a prison should do, it has in the past hardened the offender. Allowing first offenders to associate with hardened criminals, especially in the county jails, makes criminals out of otherwise law-abiding persons.

Also the difficulty and uncertainty of securing justice and the influence of the largest pocketbook on the verdict cause people to lose confidence in courts. Another bad feature from the standpoint of society is the "sporting theory" of justice, under which the trial becomes a game to the lawyers, and their endeavor is not to see that justice is rendered but to win cases, lawyers justifying their action on the theory that every case should be presented in the best manner possible. But as a result of this practice every technicality possible is exploited by the clever attorney in order to block justice; and with the present condition of law favoring the defense in criminal cases, the criminal who is able to hire able counsel is extremely difficult and at times almost impossible to convict. This has a demoralizing effect on society. To balance the small ratio of convictions of the big criminals, the small ones who cannot afford able counsel are frequently given scanty justice, and some who are not guilty are convicted. Such injustice has a demoralizing effect both on the criminal and upon society and not only causes a loss of respect for law but tends to increase the commission of crime itself. Corruption and graft in many police systems hinder the stamping out of crime. Policemen are, as a result of connivance on the part of superiors, afraid to arrest noted violators of the law. Short sentences in county jails are likely to increase instead of prevent crime.

(6) Defective Law and Government.—This cause works in much the same way as the preceding one. Allowing bad social conditions to exist often lies at the root of the whole matter. Laws which impose heavier penalties upon certain classes than others, or disproportionate penalties for minor offenses, encourage disrespect for law. Laws which are poorly drawn up are responsible for defective courts, or for the inability of courts to enforce their verdicts. Poor administration of law by lax or inefficient officials, such as are often found in city governments, fosters crime and in truth almost puts a premium upon it.

(7) Race and Nationality.—In our study of immigration we found that certain races are more addicted to crime

than others. We learned that the Poles are addicted to the use of liquor and under its influence become dangerous and commit many serious assaults; that the Irish under the same influence commit minor offenses; that the Italians were in past years controlled by the "Black Hand." The American Negro likewise is especially addicted to petty thefts and minor offenses. Many nationalities are noted for their high criminal rate, particularly those of eastern Asia and Central and South America. However, it must not be inferred from this that crime is due to race, for if we go back of these facts we will find that such criminal habits are the result of low standards of living, political oppression, poverty, over-crowding and other environmental and cultural conditions. The condition among the American Negroes can easily be traced back to conditions of slavery. So race is a condition, rather than a cause of crime.

(8) Education, or Lack of It.—Although an educated "crook" is much more dangerous than an uneducated one, the educated person is much less liable to become a criminal. In fact it is found that few inmates of the ordinary prison have much education. Not only is the percentage of illiteracy high among criminals, but those who can read and write have less education than the average man, the majority stopping school long before they finish the grades—before they receive enough instruction to become really efficient at anything. This is especially true of the major offenders, where the percentage of illiteracy is about double that of the general population. Education not only gives efficiency but also teaches respect for law and keeps the child off the streets or out of temptation during the years in which character is being formed. While the best educational system possible will not stop crime, it will go a long way towards checking it. If an educational system is defective and does not serve its true purpose, crime will increase faster than it otherwise would. If it omits moral instruction, physical education, or industrial training, it is to that extent defective. One needs a sound body to be moral, and a chance to succeed in life

to be law-abiding. An educational system that causes the child to hate learning will encourage that child to leave school at as early an age as possible, and will kill the influence of the school. The extension of such enlightened methods as those of the Gary schools will tend to keep down crime. Also, the providing of special schools for the dull and the precocious children will have the same effect.

Along with the school in its educational effect must be considered the public libraries, the magazines, and especially the press. The space given to crimes, immorality and divorce cases in our newspapers advertises those things and teaches people to imitate them. Newspapers often open up ways to crime by suggesting plans of operation; they attract attention to crime and arouse dormant criminal tendencies.

(9) Harmful Social Amusements.—The lack of healthful amusements drives people, especially the poor, who have not the means to choose anything else, to the pool hall, the dance hall, the gambling house, vulgar theatrical performances, and similar places of entertainment. Such amusements encourage vice and crime. This is being counteracted now by the substitution of healthful amusements: free parks in our cities with their baseball, football, and basketball grounds, tennis courts, golf links, bathing beaches, skating rinks, and gymnasiums. The moving picture is driving the vulgar theatrical show out of business, and if it can be controlled so as to eliminate the low and sensational, it will have an uplifting effect, and do its share in furnishing healthful diversion. Probably no stronger check to crime could be instituted than furnishing the public with clean, healthful sport and amusement.

Subjective Causes of Crime.—These are largely biological and are sometimes conditions attending crime rather than causes of it.

1. *Degeneracy, Physical, Mental, and Moral.*—Feeble-mindedness, insanity, and epilepsy are closely related to crime. The person who is weak is the person who gets into trouble. It is the same in college; the student who will cheat in examinations or copy someone else's work

is a weakling who is not strong enough to resist temptation, or who has not the mental ability or will power to solve his problems out for himself. The person who aids him in this way is also one who is not strong enough to say "no." It is the same with drinking and smoking cigarettes—it is usually the weakling who takes up those habits, the one who is not man enough to resist them. Likewise with crime—the feebleminded or weak-willed person is not able to withstand temptation. It is asserted that in the prisons, where studies in regard to mental capacity have been made, fully one-fourth of the inmates are feeble-minded. One has only to visit a penitentiary to recognize that the majority of the prisoners are under normal or peculiar. They are also below normal physically. Criminals are drawn largely from the lowest strata of society, from the scum and riff-raff. Criminals, paupers, imbeciles, drunkards, prostitutes, and other degenerates come, to a great extent, from the same family stocks. One needs only to study the Jukes, Kallikak, Nam, and Hill families to realize this. While not all criminals are degenerate, a much larger percentage is found among them than in the ordinary population. This condition is shown in such studies as that of Goring.[5]

2. *Intemperance, or Drunkenness.*—Intemperance is in part an objective cause, but should be classified here. It has been stated on good authority that between ninety and ninety-five per cent of crime in the United States in the past was related in some way or other to the use of liquor, and that fully one-half of the crime committed was the direct result of liquor. The almost wholesale emptying of municipal and county jails in different parts of the United States almost immediately upon the advent of prohibiton testified to the importance of liquor in connection with the committing of crime. Later, however, with the development and organization of the boot-leg industry these same jails began to fill up again with a new class of law breakers. If the use of intoxicating liquors

[5] Goring, Charles, *The English Convict* (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London, 1913).

can be prevented or nearly so crime can thereby be materially reduced.

Since the advent of prohibition many empty jails testify to the truth of this statement. One does things under the influence of liquor which he or she would not do otherwise. Liquor weakens the will and reduces the power of resistance. It influences the addict in a myriad of other ways. With liquor might be classified drugs and opiates.

One interesting feature of the effect of prohibition upon crime noticed upon the coming in of prohibition was the increased difficulty of capturing and convicting the professional criminals, for their abstinence from liquor, coupled with their use of the automobile, gave them a better chance of escape. With the development of rum-running the aeroplane is now coming into use, particularly along the Mexican border.

3. *Age.*—Most criminals are young—between the ages of twenty and forty as a rule. In fact, the average of those confined in the penitentiaries is about twenty-seven or twenty-eight. The reason for this is apparent: crimes are committed during the active period of life, when a person is physically at his best. Later in life if the person has not died or reformed he loses his nerve and settles down and acts as a "fence" for younger criminals. The life of the criminal is hazardous, and many die young.

4. *Sex.*—In the United States ninety-five per cent of the criminals are men. In Europe the percentage of women is somewhat higher, but in all countries male criminals greatly outnumber the female. This is not all due to the fact that man is naturally more criminal, but partly to the fact that women, when they want crimes committed, get men to act for them. The women are weaker physically and lack the courage to commit crime, especially the graver offenses. They are apt to commit misdemeanors and minor offenses when they do commit crimes. Perhaps still more important, women are much less vigorously prosecuted in court than men. If in need women are more apt to be driven into prostitution than into theft. Moreover, there are in the United States about two

million more men than women. However, it must be admitted that woman is more conservative and more willing to obey the law than man. She is much more accustomed to obey and spends more time at home. Girls are looked after much more carefully than boys, hence know less of crime. With the coming in of woman's rights there has been noticed an increase in the crimes committed by women, which merely goes to show that woman's former low criminal rate was in part due to her sheltered position.

5. *Habits, Sentiments, and Ideals.*—Acquired traits may be traced back, at least in part, to objective causes, yet they must be considered here also. Many of them have been developed by the "gang," and by home environment as well. Such habits and ideals are not created suddenly but are the results of bad social environment. They show imitation of the bad rather than of the good actions of society.

6. *Sexual Passions.*—The animal passions cause such crimes as rape, seduction, and assault, and even lead to other crimes, such as murder and arson.

Criminal Psychology.—A great deal has been written about criminal psychology, yet the bulk of this discussion deals with abnormalities of mind found in the criminal. Psychologists and psychiatrists are now making many studies of inmates of different penal institutions, especially the reformatories for women. While a number of such studies have now been made a vast amount of such data must be gathered before we can formulate any definite laws or hypotheses. But it is along such lines that we must work if we expect to develop a science of criminal psychology. Some discoveries have already been made which show the presence of mental abnormalities and psychopathic conditions. But this phase of criminology, interesting as it is, cannot be adequately treated in a work of this nature, and therefore must be left to special treatises on criminology. In this connection we may, however, call attention to the theories of Lombroso and the investigations of Goring.

Italian School of Criminal Anthropology.—About 1875

there came into prominence in Italy a school of criminologists, known as the Italian School of Criminal Anthropologists, headed by Cesare Lombroso, who took the position that crime was largely due to atavism, or the reversion to savage or animal types. This school assumed that there was a more or less definite criminal type, and that individuals of this type could be distinguished from ordinary persons because of certain physical and mental peculiarities. It proceeded from the principle that there is an intimate relation between bodily and mental conditions and processes; and in accordance with this theory, Lombroso began an examination of the physical characteristics and peculiarities of the criminal offender. He demonstrated that as a rule the criminal, particularly the habitual criminal, can be distinguished from the average members of society by a much higher percentage of physical anomalies in the way of malformations of the skull, face, brain, and sense organs, such as hare-lips, high palates, and bad teeth; also by such personal irregularities as excessive length of limbs and sexual pecularities, notably feminism in men and masculinism in women. He also discovered mental anomalies like nervousness, morbidness, excessive vanity, irritability, love of revenge, and, in short, habits akin to those of uncivilized tribes. He regarded the criminal as a product of pathological and atavistic tendencies standing midway between the lunatic and the savage.

There has been much opposition to this theory on the ground that these peculiarities belong also to the insane, the epileptic, the victim of alcoholism, the prostitute, and the habitual pauper, as well as to the criminal, and that the criminal is only one branch of a decadent stem, or one member of a degenerate family group. Lombroso and his followers, especially Ferri, went so far as to try to separate the criminal class into different types, each distinguishable by certain physical and mental peculiarities, and to contend that certain physical anomalies indicate certain criminal tendencies. While the theories of Lombroso are interesting and suggestive, they have been dis-

carded as unscientific. Without question, the peculiarities he emphasizes do to some extent exist, but they are rather effects of criminal life than causes of crime. The fact that the criminal comes, in a large number of cases, from the degenerate portion of our population (as is especially pointed out by Goring) would naturally lead us to expect a much heavier percentage of physical and mental failings and peculiarities.

Investigations of Goring.—Goring in his study of 3,000 English convicts contends that criminality is not a morbid state like a disease, which can be diagnosed and prescribed for; that criminals possess no physical or mental characteristics which are not shared by all people; and that there are no physical or mental peculiarities or characteristics common to all criminals. Yet he admits that criminals as a class are generally defective, both physically and mentally, and points out further that thieves and burglars, who make up ninety per cent of the criminals, are inferior to the general population (and even to other criminals), not because they are criminals, but because they are drawn from the lowest social strata.

Goring's investigations disprove Lombroso's theory of a criminal type, and also his claim that it is possible to distinguish between the different classes of criminals. Goring shows that differences do exist among criminals, but precisely as they do among normal persons. He does, however, arrive at some general conclusions, as follows:[6]

(1) There is no relation between sickness and crime. Lawbreakers enjoy better health, if anything, than the law-abiding. Also mortality from accidental negligence and from infectious fevers and similar diseases is reduced by prison confinement.

(2) There is a high degree of relationship between crime and insanity, although insanity is not a cause of crime.[7]

[6] Goring, Charles, *The English Convict*, 1913 (His Majesty's Stationery Office, London).

[7] Some present writers do not agree with this, claiming that mental disease is a cause of crime.

(3) Epilepsy has a definite relationship to crime.

(4) Alcoholism plays an important part and is a cause of the high mortality rate of criminals and of the prevalence of alcoholic diseases.

(5) There is a close relationship between sexual looseness and crime, and this explains the prevalence of syphilis among criminals.

(6) Chronic diseases, instead of causing crime, are a deterrent, as they prevent the person from pursuing a criminal career.

(7) The death rate among criminals is about the same as in the respective classes of society from which the criminals come.

(8) Although criminals come from the most prolific stock in the community, they themselves have fewer children than the average; as illustration, of the general population in England 621 out of 1,000 marry and have, on an average 5.66 children; while of criminals 629 out of 1,000 marry and have 3.5 children, or a ratio of 5 to 8. This is due not to sterility but to the breaking up of the homes, desertion of family, and the interruption of family life. It is shown that fertility decreases with the frequency of incarceration, and that habitual criminals are more inclined to be bachelors. In other words, marital conditions are much the same as we should expect to find.

(9) Heredity.—The tendency to crime is inherited in about the same degree as other qualities of men.[8] The influence of parental example is considerable, varying with conditions.

In the conclusion of his *English Convict* Goring sums up his findings as follows:

> The physical and mental constitutions of both criminal and law-abiding persons of the same age, stature, class, and intelligence are identical. There is no such thing as an anthropological criminal type. Yet in spite of this it appears to be an

[8] The legal nature of crime is not taken into consideration here by Goring. He treats the tendency to commit crime as merely a weakness which would be inherited about as he indicates.

indisputable fact that there is a physical, mental, and moral type of normal persons, who tend to be convicted of crime. That is to say, the criminal of English prisons is markedly differentiated by defective physique as measured by stature and bodily weight; by defective mental capacity and by a possession of willful anti-social proclivities. The thief has a smaller, narrower head than the policeman who arrests him, not because he is a thief but because he is inferior. One-thirteenth of the persons in England are at some time convicted, and if all had to pass by in groups of thirteen and the poorest-looking, physically and mentally, were picked from each group this new group would correspond to the prison type. That there lies in the physical constitution the existence of a peculiar psychic power by which one was liable to become a criminal was the old theory. The new idea is that he is not born a criminal but made one. We find close bonds between defective physique and defective mentality. Alcoholic diseases, like the venereal ones, are determinants of crime. But we are not able to establish any definite relationship between crime and such social conditions as parental neglect, poverty, etc. . . . Imprisonment does not materially affect the health of the criminal, whose health is about the same as when outside.

Other Schools of Criminologists.—In addition to the *Italian* school just mentioned there have been a number of other so-called schools of criminology. Among these have been: (1) the *Statisticians,* who endeavored to find the causes of crime in society itself and made elaborate studies in regard to races, religion, the price of grain, potatoes and other necessities, as well as sex and age in their relations to crime. These investigators obtained much data, some of which have been of value. (2) The *French* or *Environmental* school, who claimed that society had the criminals it deserved; that if it allowed vicious institutions, such as the saloon, prostitution, etc., it must expect crime. This school placed the blame almost wholly upon society. While not the whole truth this theory was not far wrong. (3) The *Bio-Sociologists,* or cross between the Italian and the French schools, who claimed that crime was the result of character plus environment. They contended that the impulse to commit crime is more or less innate but is either strengthened or weakened by social conditions, also that the concept of crime depends upon

the prevailing moral code; that what would be considered criminal in one place would not be in another. According to this group of thinkers, criminals are both the results of physical conditions and the victims of circumstances. In other words, they are both social and mental misfits. (4) *Spiritualists,* or religious thinkers, who traced crime to morals. They admitted the contributing factors of poverty, the unequal distribution of wealth and other conditions of society but contended that the yielding to temptation was a question of morals. All these schools have contributed much, particularly the French and Bio-Sociological. In this connection must be mentioned the so-called *Classical* school which gradually arose and won more or less universal acceptance. Its doctrines were based on an assumed freedom of will; on the assumption that one was free to choose or reject and that all were equally free. It contended, and this contention was more or less accepted, that punishments should be suited to the crime, that all who commit the same offense should be punished the same. This was a great improvement on the previous arbitrary decisions of judges and unequal and unjust distribution of penalties, but just now this idea is hardly considered scientific, and is giving place to the theory that punishment should fit the criminal, rather than the crime.

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CHAPTER XXV

TREATMENT OF THE CRIMINAL

In the early history of crime the criminal was treated according to the principle of revenge. This theory was supplanted by that of repression, or the attempt to stamp out crime. In turn, this idea has given way to the principle of reformation, which now is being combined with, and supplanted more and more by, that of prevention, or the preventing of crime before it is committed. While no time limits can be given as to the prevalence of these different theories, this is the order of their evolution, and in that order we shall study them.

1. **Theory of Revenge.**—The "tooth for a tooth" and "eye for an eye" idea was merely an illustration of the theory of revenge which for centuries governed the treatment of criminals. The laws or rules of society allowed the person injured, or his relatives, to obtain revenge on the person who committed the injury. The "blood avenger" of the Old Testament was a person given this power. Sometimes the person who committed the injury became the slave of the injured person for a stated period of time or for life. The despoiler of the Roman home was turned over to the angry husband to treat as he saw fit. Punishment was retaliation; the aim was to make the offender suffer in payment for the suffering he had caused. As long as revenge was the governing motive, punishments were generally death, mutilation, torture, whipping, and slavery; one shudders even to read the accounts of the punishments of antiquity. Human ingenuity was taxed to its utmost to invent tortures and methods of execution by which death would be as long drawn out as possible and the unhappy wretch made to suffer to the limit of his endurance. Crucifixion, apply-

ing the boot, impaling, flaying, burning, sawing asunder, boiling in oil, burying alive, breaking on the wheel, whipping with the knout, drawing and quartering, and starvation, were typical punishments. For minor offenses lesser punishments, such as branding, mutilating, and flogging, were inflicted. The theory was that not only was it good to make people suffer for their wrongs, but the sight of their suffering prevented others from committing the same offenses. This theory gradually gave place to the idea that there was a more or less definite criminal class, and that it was the duty of society to put it down or stamp it out of existence; this led to the next period which we shall consider.

2. **Theory of Repression.**—The period in which the theory of repression prevailed was hardly less bloody than the preceding one, except that death was not so cruelly inflicted. Thinking that there was a criminal class and being alarmed over the increase of crime, the public took upon itself the work of ridding society of the criminals. Death was made the penalty for nearly all crimes, over two hundred offenses being punishable by death in England at one time, and over one hundred in France. A French judge at Nancy boasted of burning over eight hundred persons in sixteen years, and Judge Jeffreys made his name infamous by his perseverance in the carrying out of what he considered his duty by sentencing to death every one whom he possibly could. Seventy-two thousand were hanged during the reign of Henry VIII, a period of thirty-eight years. The world finally grew tired of the shedding of blood and substituted banishment and transportation for many offenses. Penal colonies were established in various parts of the world, including Australia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. America for a long time received a large number of the criminals of Europe. Branding was abolished and torture disappeared.

These penalties did not fit into the scheme of repression, although they were long employed to intimidate the people; but the public finally saw that such penalties did not stop crime, that seeing people suffer did not deter

others from committing crime, but on the contrary increased it. Then, too, repression did not prevent crime; the world was breeding crime faster than it could harvest the criminals. For every criminal that it executed, the world was bringing into existence another, and usually more than one, to take his place. Property was unequally distributed, justice was only for the strong, laws were for the rulers; misery was everywhere, vice was rampant. It is no wonder that crime flourished. Yet the theory of repression prevailed down to very recent times—and it prevails in many places even to-day. Perhaps we do not care to kill so many criminals as in the past; we merely want to put them in prison; but the theory is often the same. Because severity, repression, and intimidation do not prevent crime, this method proved a failure and had to give way to that of reformation.

3. **Theory of Reformation.**—The theory of reformation is very modern; it came into vogue in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Instead of trying to get revenge on the criminal for his act, or to repress crime by killing off the criminal class, we have changed our idea gradually but radically. Instead of thinking of the criminal as incorrigible or as belonging to a class which cannot be reconciled with society, we have reached the idea that the criminal is much like other human beings, and that he commits crime, not because of innate tendencies, but because his training or environment is defective. This theory is based on the discovery that the bulk of crime is caused by environment. With the establishment of this theory the treatment of the criminal is changing radically from one of severity to one of fairness and consideration. The new point of view is bringing about a complete reform in the management of prisons and other penal institutions. Instead of being subjected to hard, deadening labor, the prisoner is, in many institutions, taught a trade. Instead of sending him out into the world to drift back into crime, the state tries to get him employment. Instead of flogging and other brutal methods of discipline, more humane methods have come into use. Mod-

ern reforms like probation, parole, the indeterminate sentence, and the honor system are made possible. It was found that the former methods of handling prisoners made them worse and actually condemned them to a life of crime. All prisoners cannot of course be reformed, but many can be, and the result has proved to be well worth the effort.

4. **Theory of Prevention.**—While we recognize the value of reformation, we have now come to realize that it is not the end; that the chief aim is, not to reform criminals after they have entered a life of crime, but instead to prevent their entering such a life. The juvenile court with its system of probation was originated in order to save children from becoming criminals. But still more than this, the aim should be to correct bad home conditions, defective industrial conditions, faulty government, unjust courts, crowded housing conditions—in short, to remedy those conditions in society which cause crime. This is the present theory as to the treatment of crime. In practice we have not yet reached such a stage, although we are headed in the right direction. This must be supplemented, of course, by reformatory treatment of the criminals already in society.

Different Types of Prisons.—Prisons of antiquity were places not for punishment but for safekeeping, being generally dungeons located in underground chambers beneath palaces, forts, or castles, or in some dismal or inaccessible place. In these dungeons the prisoner was detained for trial or for ransom, or merely kept out of the way, or held for torture. Such places were dismal, dreary, and often disease-ridden. The prisoners were chained or shackled to the wall, to rocks, or to iron bars. They were given the poorest food, and little of that. Often they were left to starve or to live years of lingering death. Persons were not sentenced for definite terms; in fact, prison sentences for the purpose of punishment are of comparatively recent origin. The prisons of the Middle Ages were little better than the prisons of antiquity, being mostly in the castles of the barons and used for the

confinement of personal enemies. When prisons were maintained by the state they were places of neglect, where the prisoner was much more apt to die of disease and filth than he was to live to see the end of his sentence. Of recent years prisons have been built and operated upon three more or less definitely worked-out plans, known as the Pennsylvania, Auburn, and Elmira types, getting their names from the first prisons of their kinds in the United States.

1. *The Pennsylvania type* is based upon the individual cell, each person living in a separate cell—eating, sleeping, and working there. It was first tried in England about 1785, and was introduced into the United States in 1790 at Philadelphia. It was adopted in a few other places, but was not copied much in the United States; and was soon abandoned. It has some advantages, such as: (1) ease of government because of the few occasions for discipline; (2) prisoners do not associate, and so upon discharge cannot recognize each other, hence are less frequently tempted to commit fresh crimes; (3) because of the greater chance for reflection on the part of the prisoner, reformatory agencies have a better chance. These good points are more than overbalanced by the objections to the plan, some of which are: (1) isolation has a bad mental effect upon the mind and body; (2) solitude is not complete because of visits from officials of various grades and often of questionable character; moreover, the interchange of signals destroys isolation; (3) prisoners are never free from the company of their own thoughts—often their worst enemies; (4) instruction is made more difficult through the absence of class teaching; (5) it is much more difficult to oversee work and to find suitable employment for all.

2. *The Auburn type* is named after the prison at Auburn, New York, established in 1816. Here absolute silence was enforced, but the convicts were worked in a body or in large groups. The discipline was severe and strict. This plan was adopted generally throughout the United States and is still in use to some extent, although

it has given way largely to the Elmira system, or to a combination of the two.

3. *The Elmira system* is named after the Elmira Reformatory in New York, which opened its doors in 1876. The plan gained its reputation here, although many of the ideas had been put into practice before, especially in Australia. It is a combination of marks, grades, and parole under the indeterminate sentence, the marks and grades being used to show when the prisoner is ready for parole. In this way they are used as rewards or punishments. Prisoners are usually taught trades and receive educational instruction and religious training. The discipline, while not brutal, is more exacting and unremitting than in the ordinary prison, and for this reason is less liked by the worst men. Reformation is the keynote; the endeavor is to fit the prisoner for life, and so make him more able to fight life's battles. The system is especially applicable to young prisoners and first offenders. It has its disadvantages in that it opens up chances for bribery and corruption of the prison officials, and often gives more power to the warden than he is capable of using, but this is more the fault of officials than of the system. This plan has been adopted in whole or in part in most of the states, including Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, and South Dakota. It is the accepted plan of to-day, for it gives a criminal who has really reformed and is ready to take his place in society the opportunity to leave the prison. When coupled with the indeterminate sentence and parole, it is especially successful. It compels us to study the criminal and to accord him the individual treatment which is necessary to give him justice.

American prison systems have not been so successful as those of some other countries. Prison discipline has been either severe to the point of cruelty, or lax to the point of weakness. This has been due to the fact that wardens as a rule have been political appointees who were unfit for their positions. In the past our prisons often were perfect hell-holes. State penitentiaries of

Missouri, Ohio, Texas, Georgia, and Tennessee have served as notorious examples of what ought not to be. Prisons were great manufacturing establishments run by contractors, because the contract system paid best. The state took little interest, except to make the prisons pay, and the financial test was the measure of success of a system. Self-control was not encouraged, and the prisons, instead of helping the prisoner, ordinarily sent him back into life a greater enemy of society than he was when he entered. In recent years there has been a change, and our leading penitentiaries are trying other methods. They emphasize reformation of the prisoner, rather than punishment. Wardens are now beginning to be chosen because of fitness rather than politics, and really capable men are accepting the positions.

Prison Work.—To find work for prisoners has always been more or less of a problem, but in general the following systems have been adopted:

1. *Contract system,* or the letting out of the work of the prisoners to a contractor, who comes into the prison and establishes the industry. He usually pays to the state a lump sum or a certain amount for each prisoner, and works the prisoners as hard as he can, paying them nothing, or possibly a small amount for extra work. The fault with this system is that it gives the discipline over to private individuals, who are interested only in the profit, and who care nothing for the reformation of the prisoner. Whether he or she does the required amount of work is the only test of conduct. From a financial standpoint it generally pays the state fairly well. It also relieves the state of the expense of buying machinery and establishing a factory, and frees the warden from a great deal of responsibility. It was once adopted in most of our penitentiaries, but is now being discarded. Because it gives a few manufacturers an advantage on account of the hiring of cheaper labor, it has been much objected to by other manuacturers and by organized labor especially. It will soon be a thing of the past.

2. *The Lease system,* or the farming out of prisoners to

contractors who take them out of the penitentiary and assume entire charge of them—working, feeding, clothing, and housing them. It has generally resulted in gross brutality, the convicts being worked to the limit of their endurance—often to the point of death; in their being fed the cheapest and poorest of food and housed in dirty, filthy shacks and in their being shackled together at night and often chained to a ball or guarded by men with shotguns and dogs during the day. The treatment is often brutal and demoralizing in the extreme, and it is difficult to see how such a country as the United States could ever adopt such a system; yet it has been followed in the majority of our Southern States, including Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, Texas, and Florida. In the last-named state it was in operation as late as 1924 for county prisoners and the last remnant of it was not abolished in Alabama till 1928. The whole system is wrong, for it grants to individuals not only the handling of prisoners but control over their very lives. The author knows of no arguments in favor of this shiftless and brutal system.

3. *Piece-price system,* by which the state is paid a definite price—generally so much per piece—for work done in the prison. The contractor does not come into the prison to supervise the work but furnishes the raw materials, and possibly the machinery. The prisoner is under the warden and the moral effect is far better than under the *lease* or *contract* systems; while there often is exploitation it is not so direct. Sometimes the prisoner is paid a small price per article or for overtime or extra work in addition to the amount required. The system has not been very popular for it brings in nearly all of the difficulties of the *public account* system without the advantages and is generally used as a "fill-in" method or in combination with some other system.

4. *Public account system,* by which the state puts in the equipment and runs the industry. This requires much machinery and a large investment and so demands business ability to carry out. But under this plan the wardens can maintain a definite system of management. The

goods, however, are sold on the open market in competition with the products of free labor; also there is danger of graft and scandal due to the inability of wardens to manage such an industry. This system in combination with the piece-price system of paying the prisoners has been worked out with remarkable success in the Michigan State Prison at Jackson, but as a rule it is not considered so feasible as the public use system.

5. *The Public use* and *Public works systems,* or the manufacture of articles or commodities to be used by the state in the various institutions, or for doing work which the state would have contracted for or hired done. This frees the state from the necessity of going into the market to purchase these necessary commodities, and also avoids the necessity of placing the prison-made goods on the market or of hiring this work done. This saves the state money, and also allows the warden to work out his own scheme of management. Moreover, it has a good psychological effect upon the prisoners, for they feel much more like working if they know that the public will gain, rather than a private contractor who is getting rich from their toil. The writer observed this attitude particularly at the Bridewell in Chicago, in the making of bread for the municipal lodging house.

One of the most common forms of the *Public works system* has been the use of prisoners in the making of roads, often long before they otherwise would have been built or improved, at a decided saving to the state. The effect of outdoor labor on the prisoner is generally excellent and in combination with the honor system the moral effect is good. The extension of this system to the use of prisoners in the erection of public buildings is often advocated but here there are difficulties of competition with unions and in getting the skilled work done which is required in the erection of buildings. Prisoners can be, and in some states are, profitably employed in clearing and improving waste land either to be sold at a profit or for use as parks, playgrounds, etc. Systems of compensation can be easily worked out in using this

system, thus helping to solve the problem of caring for the family or dependents of the prisoner.

Some Modern Methods in the Treatment of Crime.—*Juvenile Courts.*—Juvenile courts are recent, the first court of this nature having been instituted in South Australia in the early '90's. While preceded by unofficial courts in both Boston and Providence, the first authorized juvenile court in the United States was established in Chicago in 1899, followed six months later by the Denver court.[1] The idea quickly spread, largely due to the advertising given it by Judge Ben B. Lindsey, the juvenile court judge of Denver. This is one method of criminal procedure in which the United States leads the world. It originated in the belief that the child who committed an offense and was arrested and treated in the same manner as an adult was not receiving justice, and that instead of being reformed he became hardened. This was especially true if he was thrown into the ordinary jail with hardened criminals. So a new procedure was instituted. Instead of following the ordinary court method, the judge usually hears the cases in his chambers or in a less awe-inspiring manner than that of the criminal court. Instead of having lawyers and calling witnesses in the usual manner, the child is generally brought up to the judge, who has a friendly talk with him, hears witnesses if the child does not admit the offense, and if it is the first offense, instead of being sentenced he is put on probation under the care of a probation officer, who visits him and to whom he is required to report at stated inter-

[1] There has been much discussion in regard to the honor of establishing the first court in the United States. It appears that the first law passed under which a juvenile court was established was the compulsory school law of Colorado of March, 1899, but no court actually trier a case under this till January 2, 1900. The Illinois law of April 21, 1899, was the first regular juvenile court law passed in the United States and the first case under this law was tried in Chicago on July 5, 1899. There had been previous brief laws providing for the special treatment of juveniles in both Massachusetts and Illinois. The South Australia court was established by ministerial act in 1890 and legalized by a state act of 1895. For greater detail see Dow, G. S., *Crime and Its Prevention,* Chap. X (Edwards Bros., Ann Arbor, 1927).

vals. He is usually also required to visit the judge regularly, generally on Saturday mornings; to those meetings he is required to bring a report from his school teacher. If these reports are good and the probation officer reports that he is behaving himself, the child is released at the end of the time stated, ordinarily from six weeks to six months.

This system requires an efficient force of probation officers, some of whom must be women to handle the cases of delinquent girls and small boys. The success of the juvenile court rests more on the efficiency of the probation officers than any other single factor, and here is where the chief difficulty in the juvenile court lies. There are not enough officers employed to do this work thoroughly and the pay is not sufficient to attract or hold those of sufficient ability and training to do the work as it should be done, and untrained and volunteer workers have to be used. Because of the opposition to the juvenile court idea on the part of lawyers in general and the judges of other courts, appropriations sufficient to do the work as it should be done are hard to obtain. To illustrate this, the city of Denver paid its probation officers, in 1926, $125 a month, while at the same time it paid its dog catcher $135 a month. But in order to carry out the idea of the juvenile court careful investigations must be made by the probation officers before a case is heard by the judge, and the child placed on probation must be followed up and not only watched but helped in all sorts of ways by the same officers or others long after the case has been in court. Also the majority of minor cases never even reach the judge, being handled by the probation officers themselves. The advice or suggestion of the probation officer is nearly always taken by the judge. So the probation officer acts as detective, prosecutor, defense attorney, policeman and jailor and even at times as judge. A detention home to hold and care for the child who cannot be allowed to go to his home or who has no home to go to, is a necessary adjunct to the juvenile court.

The work of the juvenile court has been greatly extended of recent years. Not only are children's cases heard but practically every case which involves a child now goes to the juvenile court. Adults are haled in for contributing to the delinquency of children, even parents and guardians being so treated. Dependent children as well as delinquent children are now handled here. The court often handles adoption, family quarrels and even divorces; in fact, many juvenile courts have now become domestic relations courts as well. In small cities the juvenile court cases naturally do not take up all the time of a judge and these cases are heard on special days, usually Saturdays. It is in these smaller courts that the lack of suitable probation officers and sympathetic judges is the most apparent and where the work is the least efficient. But even here decided progress is being made.

The whole system goes at the problem in the right manner, and attempts to prevent crime by stopping the youth before he gets started on a life of crime. If probation does not succeed, the child is sent to a reform school, there to be kept, if necessary, till he reaches the age of twenty-one. Before the juvenile courts came into existence we were sending annually five thousand children in the United States to jail, and were swelling the number of criminals just about that much. In 1901, sixty-five reformatories in this country had harbored up to that time 210,999 children. The preventive work of the juvenile court has touched a responsive chord in the American public: the press, the public, and the lecture platform have advertised it; and the results have been so remarkably successful that it has spread all over the United States, until at the present time practically all our cities have juvenile courts in some form or other, working with varying degrees of success. In some places we have gone to the other extreme and have been entirely too lenient, putting too many on probation without providing enough or proper officers, or adequate facilities to care for those who break their probation or who drift back again into delinquency. The

result of this failure is that children lose their respect for the law. This is not a fault of the system, but of the methods of carrying it out; the whole scheme of course requires judges and probation officers of peculiar ability to handle the children properly. Not only has the juvenile court been very successful in handling juvenile delinquency and in guarding the country from thousands of possible future criminals and from the consequent endless expense, but it has also given us a method of treating adult delinquents as well.

The question is now often presented as to what will be the future of the juvenile court. While there has been much opposition to the court, practically every juvenile court in the United States meeting with more or less opposition and difficulty, the idea has come to stay. The question will be in regard to where it will stop or what it will lead to. This discussion in general centers in three possible programs: (1) the treatment of all family and juvenile cases in one court, known as a "family" or "domestic relations" court; (2) the turning over of all juvenile delinquency to the schools, for they now handle much of this problem through the work of the visiting nurses, attendance officers, etc. While some of this work can be so delegated and there should be the greatest co-operation, there are some difficulties in regard to this, such as the lack of legal authority in cases of emergency or the power to send adults to prison if necessary. Also the schools are in session only nine months as a rule, and they are now usually overburdened with work. (3) The extension of the juvenile court idea to all criminal cases, in fact turning all courts into juvenile courts, if such an expression were permissible. This is probably too sweeping but already the adult courts are adopting many features of the juvenile court, such as clinics and probation, and many others, are advocated, such as preliminary investigation, less use of attorneys, and greater liberty to the judge.

Suspended Sentence, Indeterminate Sentence, Probation, and Parole.—Adult offenders are also now being

handled through suspended sentences, the indeterminate sentence, probation and parole. While these methods are separate, they may be considered together because they overlap, since they carry out the same principle—that is, returning the criminal to society. The *suspended sentence* is one which is not executed during the good behavior of the culprit. While sound in theory and excellent if properly applied to youths and first offenders who are known to the judge, it has been greatly abused in some places because of the laxness of judges, who have applied it to all rather than to the exceptional offender. This has been especially true in Texas. The law should not be blamed because of the inefficiency of judges. By *indeterminate sentence* we mean the sentencing of a prisoner who has been convicted, not to a definite term of years, such as five or eight, but for an indeterminate period. In the United States we usually fix a maximum and a minimum, although the present tendency is to reduce the maximum and eliminate the minimum. This leaves the matter of length of sentence to a board or commission, usually the Board of Parole, consisting generally of the warden, sometimes the judge sentencing, the prison physician or chaplain, and some outside disinterested person or persons, who settle the question of when the prisoner shall be released. These boards are guided in their decisions, not so much by the offense as by the conduct of the prisoner and the probable chance of his becoming a law-abiding citizen. They consider the future—the effect on the community and on the prisoner.

Incorporated with the indeterminate sentence, in order to make it successful, generally goes *parole,* the releasing of a prisoner to serve the remainder of his term outside the prison walls. He is usually required to report at stated intervals and is also visited by a parole officer. To obtain parole, work must as a rule be provided before the prisoner is released. About three-fourths of our states now have indeterminate sentence laws and make use of parole, some even extending them to such offenses as murder, after ten or fifteen years have been served. While

some prisoners violate their parole, from seventy-five to eighty-five per cent live up to the terms and never bother the state again. About one-half or two-thirds of those who violate their parole are caught later and returned to serve out their maximum sentences. These are generally the habitual criminals who while in prison create model records in order to get out earlier. On the whole, the plan is very successful and is being extended more and more. The chief difficulties with parole are the insufficient number of parole officers and the mechanical form of granting paroles, which is now coming into use. In too many institutions parole is getting to become a sort of "good time" allowance, or a method of shortening the sentence if one obeys the prison rules and regulations, and is applicable to all. This, of course, is the result of inefficient officials but it is discrediting the system and is a grave danger to its successful continuance.

Probation is slightly different. Instead of being released from prison before the maximum term of their sentence has expired, offenders are not sent to prison at all, generally having sentence passed upon them but being released upon good behavior. This is merely an extension of probation to the adult, resulting from the experience with juveniles, and is used mostly with first offenders and those who commit minor offenses. If carried out under a proper system of probation officers, it often works very well, provided the judges use discretion in granting it; but too often the hardened criminal takes advantage of it by pleading first offense, and if it is his first offense in that court or that city he often succeeds and thus escapes justice. In this respect probation is not so successful as parole, for it does not give the judge the chance of investigation that parole does, for under the parole system there is time to investigate and find out if the offender is wanted elsewhere for other offenses; under the probation system this chance is not given. Judges are often too busy to search for all the facts, or are not capable of making accurate decisions. A judicious use of probation for adults is all right and highly justifiable,

provided it is backed up by a proper number of probation officers, but without such a system it often degenerates into a farce. Probation and parole are too often confused in the popular mind, and parole is condemned for the sins of probation.[2]

Honor System.—The honor system differs from the preceding ones in that it allows the prisoner to leave the walls of the prison on his pledge, not to try to escape, but to return at a stated time. This was first tried in Oregon a few years ago. There the governor abrogated the contracts that had been made by taking advantage of technicalities in them, but then he met with the difficulty of providing work for the prisoners; so he tried the experiment of getting work for them outside the walls. The plan proved so successful that it has been copied in other states. Of the 1,700 prisoners committed to the Ohio penitentiary about three hundred work outside of the walls, some as far as forty miles from the penitentiary; many work under convict foremen. Of the first three hundred and eighteen, eighteen violated the parole, but nine of these were returned. Of the one thousand or so prisoners at Jackson, Michigan, two hundred are continually at work on their honor on the prison farm, several miles from the walls, and altogether about one-half of the prisoners are allowed this privilege at different times; fewer violate the privilege than escape from the prison by going over the walls in spite of the guards. In fact it is generally considered dishonorable to sneak away. Then only those who have good records, and who have served a considerable part of their terms, thus becoming eligible for parole, are allowed to leave the walls. Since the risk of getting caught and serving a much longer term is greater than simply serving the remainder of the term, there is practically no incentive to violate the pledge. Because outside work is much preferred to inside work,

[2] In New York State, in 1921, 19,637 persons were released on probation and 79.6 per cent completed their probation period and were honorably discharged, while 8.2 per cent were arrested for violation of probation or for committing other offenses and were imprisoned.

the prisoners are careful to watch and prevent each other from running away. The physical effect of getting the prisoners out into the open is good; the moral effect is much better, for the system gives them greater confidence, since they know that they are being trusted. It gives them greater self-control and thus makes them better fitted to take their places in society after discharge. Special privileges, such as conversation, the use of tobacco, and the wearing of ordinary citizen's clothing, are usually granted. Thus the prisoner feels more like a man.

No prison, except a jail in Vermont, has attempted to put all its prisoners on their honor; so it is a distinction to be given this privilege. This jail in Vermont allowed its prisoners to go out to work on the farms for two dollars a day, one dollar of which the prisoner kept. It is found that the hardened convict, accustomed to the old methods of harsh treatment—flogging, tying up, the water cure, the lock-step, stripes, etc.—responds most readily to the honor system, for it is new to him.

A new phase of the honor system, in fact a very advanced form of it, has been tried out in some of our eastern prisons. It was introduced by Thomas Mott Osborne, former warden of Sing Sing. Under this system of self-government the prisoners by means of committees fixed the punishments for violations of prison rules. Osborne's plan was much criticized. While Osborne is looked upon more as an idealist and reformer than as an executive, and his original system at Sing Sing has been modified, the plan is spreading. The idea has come to stay and it is now being recognized that Osborne introduced a system which bids fair to revolutionize our methods of prison treatment. The honor system is extremely modern; yet it is spreading very rapidly. It is now being tried in Indiana with county prisoners, in connection with the consolidated county or district workhouses or prison farms for minor offenders.

The whole method of treatment of criminals has greatly changed. The idea of retributive justice is vanishing.

The idea that the treatment of the criminal must be severe and harsh and his life made as uncomfortable and depressing as possible is giving way to the idea that while the treatment must be strict and exacting it must at the same time be humane. The aim must be to reform the prisoner if possible, but if this cannot be done, protect society by confining the criminal in a place where he will be treated humanely, but where he will at least pay for his support. The theory that the criminal is a person who cannot respond to humane treatment and justice is now exploded.

The County Jail.—One phase of the problem of crime which has been sadly neglected in the past, and which perhaps needs attention now more than any other phase, is that of the county jail. As a rule, the average county jail is a miserable structure, often unsanitary and dangerous to the health of its prisoners. Then, too, it is used for all purposes—not only to detain those who are awaiting trial, but to house tramps and those desiring a night's lodging, whether honest and deserving or not. It is often used as a place of punishment as well, especially for minor offenses. Here, as a rule, no work is provided; the prisoner is merely supported in idleness at public expense, and that to the detriment of his health. All classes are herded together—boys, hardened criminals, first offenders, and repeaters. It is much the same problem that we noticed in regard to the almshouse. Movements are on foot in some states to consolidate county jails and have county judges sentence their short-term men to farm colonies, where work can be found for all, and where proper correctional methods, such as the honor system, can be employed. In Indiana this system is working out with remarkable success and is certain to be copied by other states. With the building of proper municipal lodging houses that provide for work the vagrancy problem can be properly handled. Formerly the tramp who wanted a comfortable berth for the winter would hunt up a fairly decent jail and by committing some petty crime in the county, compel that county to care for him till spring.

If he knew that he would have to work hard in some farm colony during the winter, he would not commit the offense.

Separate Prisons for Women.—Female prisoners present a special problem, owing in part to their small number. In most penitentiaries and prisons there merely are female wards, where the treatment is much the same as that of men and where suitable work is provided, particularly laundry work and mending. A few states, including New York and Indiana, have separate prisons and reformatories for women, the Bedford Reformatory in New York being famous for its success in reclaiming women. The problem is still greater in the rural districts, where female prisoners are so rare that it would be expensive to build separate accommodations. When a woman is arrested, it is a problem as to what to do with her, and often the sheriff has to care for her in his own house. Up till 1927, Federal women prisoners were farmed out to various state and local institutions, where often their treatment was far worse than that of the male Federal prisoners received, but in 1927 the Federal Reformatory for Women was opened at Alderson, West Virginia. This institution is not only a model of its kind but contains many novel features, such as being a prison without walls, and various means of trying to train the inmates and return them to society more efficient and helpful citizens.

Other Plans.—An interesting experiment is now being tried out in New York and Boston by allowing those fined in court to pay their fines in installments. If it works successfully there, the plan will probably be tried elsewhere. Suggestions are often made to allow the person who steals or commits an injury to recompense the injured party, or to compel the criminal to repay the damage he causes. This would be difficult to enforce, yet it is very suggestive. If the plan compelled the offender to repay out of wages earned in confinement, it might of course be carried too far. Substitutes for imprisonment are being continually suggested, and many of them, such as probation, parole, and the honor system, have proved themselves

worthy of adoption. In time others may win the same recognition.

Scientific Attitude Towards Crime.—The chief aim of penal science should be prevention—to prevent the making of criminals through environmental causes; to prevent their being developed by bad industrial, governmental, economic, and social conditions; to remove temptation by having a well-organized and efficient government, and laws which are enforced by an efficient police force; to have courts that will give justice; to have economic conditions such as enable a man to earn a living wage; to educate the masses to fit them for life and citizenship; and thus make it possible for everyone to live on a better scale and maintain a higher standard of life. To bring about any such program we must improve health conditions so as to reduce sickness and the subsequent loss of efficiency and income. Part of a health program will include the maintenance of suitable building codes with proper inspection in order to assure decent housing conditions. Also in addition to material measures, such as proper disposal of wastes and the insurance of pure foods, we must educate people to live in a healthful manner. As soon as we have learned to appreciate the need and value, a well worked out system of health insurance might be a big step in this direction. We must regulate industry sufficiently to prevent or reduce to a minimum the injurious effects of monopoly conditions. Business must be stabilized so that its uncertainty will be reduced to a minimum, thus minimizing the disastrous effects of unemployment, shut-downs, strikes and lock-outs. Whether this is done by voluntary means, such as shop committees, working agreements, or by methods of compulsory arbitration is a question of detail. Child labor must also be stopped.

In addition to checking and regulating, we must build constructive programs. Our criminal code must be brought up to date and court procedure improved so as to reduce to a minimum the blocking of justice by technicalities, unnecessary delays and appeals. A public defender should be provided for in all courts instead of a few cities as it

is to-day, so as to insure greater justice to the poor; and court machinery should be simplified so as to handle small cases justly and expeditiously. But we must not stop even with such measures for we must build our foundations better. We must see that our schools, from the kindergarten to the professional and technical schools, are improved so as to turn out not only better-trained workers but more socially minded and efficient citizens. We must strive to have our churches function more efficiently and to endeavor to really carry out the principles and ideals of Christ, instead of merely teaching theology and building up church machinery. In short we must work for more justice and less law in our courts; more education and less machinery in our schools; more Christianity and less theology in our churches, if we expect society to function in such a manner as to produce a minimum of misfits, failures and those who prey upon society. Any such program cannot be carried out in a brief period of time; it will take several generations at least but only in such a manner can we begin to deal constructively with any great social problem such as crime.[3]

At present we have our criminals and therefore we must deal with them. For this a penal system is necessary—a system to execute the sentences of the courts, to protect society from dangerous men, and to awaken the public conscience to the consequences of crime. The keynote of the methods employed should be reformation—whenever reformation is possible. Such a penal system should include both penitentiaries and reformatories, the latter for minor and younger offenders; also reform schools for boys and girls, and possibly a separate reformatory for women. There should be workhouses under state control, where the habitual criminals could be compelled to work for a living, and where the short-term men might serve their sentences instead of in the county jail, as at present. The reform school should be the cap sheaf of a good probation

[3] The present writer has presented such a program in a much more extended and detailed manner in Part III, "Prevention of Crime," of his *Crime and Its Prevention* (Edwards Bros., Ann Arbor, 1927).

system for juveniles. Where probation is applied to adults, probation officers also should be employed.

There should be separate places for the detaining of persons held for other purposes than the working out of sentences, such as keeping accused persons for trial, and holding witnesses. These should have separate cells, and such prisoners should be held as short a time as possible, especially the witnesses, and should receive good care. The places of detention used to-day are often worse than the places for working out sentences. The Harrison Street police station of Chicago, for example, which was used for years and only just now is being replaced, was not suitable for a dog kennel, much less for the keeping of human beings. County jails should not be used for the housing of tramps; these should be cared for in well-equipped lodging houses, where work should be required in return. The courts should administer physical and psychological tests, so as to send to hospitals and special institutions those who need medical attention, and to insane asylums and schools for the feeble-minded those belonging in such institutions. People of these classes should not be compelled to go to the jails or reformatories.

The jails and police stations should make special provisions for the care of females and should have matrons, or at least woman helpers subject to call when needed. The treatment of prisoners should be humane but not attractive. They should be compelled to do useful work. The public use system previously described has proved itself in general to be the best. There should be some way to pay the prisoners for extra work, so as to allow them to aid their families, if they have any, or to save up for the time when they will be discharged. In the penitentiary at Jackson, Michigan, the prisoners are required to do a certain stint; for what they do beyond that they are paid by the piece, and thus some earn for themselves as much as one dollar a day. This gives the prisoner some incentive to work, and insures the prison against loss. The discipline should be such that it would build up self-

respect and self-reliance in the prisoner, instead of killing all pride and initiative.

The theory should be, not to try to check crime by the severity of treatment, for that is always a failure, but rather to check it by the sureness of punishment. A mild punishment which is certain is feared more than a drastic punishment which is uncertain. Moreover, the idea should be to try to return the criminal to a useful place in society. Also the punishment should be fitted to the person rather than to the crime. This necessitates the indeterminate sentence, and in addition a good system of probation and parole. There should also be the honor system for such as are capable of it. In short, prevention of future crime and reformation of our present criminal class, wherever possible, should be our aim.

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CHAPTER XXVI

IMMORALITY

Under sexual immorality might be included all the various forms of sexual crime, such as adultery, incest, rape, and fornication, but these specific types come within the category of crime and will not be treated here. In this chapter, the treatment will be limited to the matter of prostitution, or what is generally known as the social evil, and its accompanying conditions. No attempt will be made to enter into the sordid details of the conditions, or to trace in detail the history of this problem through all its horrible past. Prostitution may or may not be a crime, depending upon the attitude of society; but in either case it is best to treat it as a problem by itself. Sometimes it is visited with heavy penalties, and at other times it is permitted and even protected by society, being in some countries looked upon as a necessary evil.

History.—Prostitution is almost universal, in that it is found in practically all races and nations, although in a few places it seems to be unknown. Many have called it a problem of civilization, attempting to show that it is not found among savage tribes, but closer investigation shows that not only is it not unknown among many savages, but that with some it is carefully regulated. With primitive man the demand or occasion for prostitution was felt much less than with civilized man, and of course it never reached the high state of organization and regulation which it has received under civilization. Civilization brings in problems and conditions which tend to foster it more than primitive life, but prostitution cannot be said to be a product of civilization. Ancient history is full of accounts of this evil. In the Old Testament we find many records of its presence, and it was found also

among the Babylonians, Egyptians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, and other peoples of Asia. In Greece prostitution reached terrible proportions, especially in such cities as Corinth. But it remained for Rome to attain the climax of degeneracy in this respect; in fact, the prevalence and terribleness of this evil in the latter days of Roman history are almost unbelievable. In Europe during the Middle Ages and down to the present day prostitution has continued, and has presented a problem of varying proportions. In this period it probably reached its height in France at the time of the Bourbon monarchy, encouraged and influenced by the terrible excesses of the monarchs themselves; in fact, the whole line of French kings, with possibly a few exceptions, have been noted for their immorality. Most of the monarchs and nobles of Europe during this period were noted for the same failing, the only difference being that possibly the French monarchs were the most notorious. Prostitution is by no means a thing of the past; it is a problem to-day in practically all nations of the earth, and is especially bad in France, Germany, and Japan. It is probably less of a problem in the United States than in most countries, and with us the evil appears on the wane.

Causes of Prostitution.—*Supply and Demand.*—Prostitution, like many phenomena of society, is subject to the great economic principle of supply and demand, man furnishing the demand curve and woman the supply curve. The selfishness of the male in his desire to satisfy his sexual passions at the expense of, and contrary to, the normal conventions of society, and his unwillingness or inability to control this desire, constitute the demand side. This is increased largely by the mistaken, but too frequently accepted notion, that sexual indulgence is essential to the health of the adult male. This theory has long since been exploded by science, but still persists with many people, and as a result adds enormously to this demand.

The supply side is made up of women recruited by society to live lives of shame, in order to meet this demand of the male. In ancient times the supply was furnished

by the slave populations, from whom the prostitutes were enlisted, being either sold into that life or forced into it by their masters, abductors, or seducers. This was particularly true of Greece and Rome, which were filled with huge slave populations. When cities were captured in wars, the women and children, as a rule, were sold into slavery, and naturally a large percentage of the female slaves who were young and attractive, were forced into this life. At times laws were passed forcing women into this life, such as those condemning Christian virgins to lives of prostitution if they refused to worship the Roman gods, which were enacted in Rome during the early days of Christianity. Laws were also passed in Corinth compelling slaves to prostitute themselves for a trifling fee, in order to attract sailors to that place. Rome was crowded with an idle class—gladiators, ruffians, soldiers, and a floating population which contributed to the terrible moral conditions. In the Middle Ages the army of prostitutes was made up largely of aliens, who had been captured through petty wars and abused by the soldiers, abducted by robbers, or ruined by the nobility, and the neglected children of the unfortunate classes. Europe was also full of a floating population—travelers, soldiers of fortune, and traders, who added to the natural demand.

In modern times the prostitute is usually a citizen who has been induced into the trade or forced to accept it by social conditions. In modern times, too, the growth of great cities and industrial centers has produced a huge class of unmarried adults, who add to the demand. There have, moreover, always been moral perverts, who have deliberately chosen lives of shame or through their own actions have been forced by society into an open confession of sexual irregularity. These are the natural prostitutes, but they have generally furnished only a small part of the number. The demand, if strong and persistent, will create a supply; in fact, as we have just pointed out, it has done that in the past by drawing on the ranks of slavery and of alien populations, and is doing it to-day by drawing on certain elements of society.

Biological and Psychological Causes.—Primary causes for immorality are found mainly in the human passions, and in the lack of ability to control or hold the passions in check. Also there must always be considered the desire for finery and luxury on the part of the female; and the fact that prostitution offers an easy method of procuring these luxuries often causes many to take up this life. The desire for excitement and the temptation to do the forbidden are also factors. Then, as we shall see in the next chapter, a large percentage of the present-day prostitutes are feeble-minded, and consequently lack the ability to control their natures and to withstand temptation. In the past, prostitutes have been largely ignorant, illiterate persons, with the exception of those who were forced into it by slavery and other violent methods. The natural prostitutes enter the profession from biological or psychological reasons, because of innate or acquired perversities of nature. These causes are undoubtedly stronger on the demand side than upon the supply side, because the demand is wholly biological and psychological in its origin.

Economic Causes.—Among the present-day economic causes are such conditions as low wages, the large monetary returns from this life, and other industrial conditions. The wages paid by many of the employers of female labor, such as department stores, are inadequate, and hence either compel other means of support, or force the worker to live on a scale which means malnutrition, lack of amusement, insufficient clothing, and a dreariness of existence which at times becomes unendurable. To the worker who has no other means of supplementing a slender income, prostitution unfortunately offers an easy method of obtaining more money. While the majority of women will prefer starvation to such a means of livelihood, the pressure of poverty and the tremendous temptation are often too much for some with weaker powers of resistance. Then too often there apparently is no hope of bettering one's economic condition, and the worker, who at first abhors such a life, weakens and succumbs to temptation.

Besides, under our present industrial regime there is

unfortunately a large male population in our cities and industrial centers, whose earnings are too small to support a family upon the scale which their standard of living demands; as a result marriage is postponed or renounced. In order to satisfy their passions, they frequent houses of prostitution, and thus keep up the demand side. Under our present program of educating people to the dangers from venereal disease, this demand is slowly being cut down, but in the past it has been a strong factor in the problem. It has been increased by the absence of local restraint or knowledge of one's actions by relatives or neighbors, a source of restraint which is found in rural neighborhoods.

Compulsion.—As in the past, compulsion is still a cause of prostitution, although not to the extent it was under slavery and serfdom. Compulsion is both direct and indirect. The demand for women to fill the ranks of prostitutes who die has caused the organization of what is generally known as the "white slave traffic," by which women are forced into this life. Because of the efforts of the government to break up this traffic, it is not carried on in such a bold and successful manner as formerly. But heretofore this business was organized like any legitimate business, having its corps of cadets and procurers, who by means of trickery, offers of employment, promises of marriage, or mock marriages, beguiled innocent victims to their ruin, or by kidnaping and coercion filled the ranks with recruits. Immigrant women and country girls coming to the city were the ones preyed upon the most, because of their ignorance of the new conditions and dangers, and their consequent inability to cope with them. Those receiving starvation wages were also sought and enticed into the life. Often victims were simply captured and reduced to submission by force and violence. Houses of prostitution regularly used violent means, including chains, the lash, starvation, depriving of clothing, and employment of ruffians, to reduce their recruits to submission. So well-organized was the traffic, that regular prices were paid for girls, ranging from fifty to one hundred dollars each,

depending upon the attractiveness of the victim. Girls who lapsed from the paths of virtue were also forced into this life by family and social ostracism, although the men who ruined them were permitted to remain in the best society. Compulsion has always been employed to keep women in a life of shame after they had once entered it; direct means being used by the brothel keeper, and indirect, subtle ostracism being employed by society to force back into prostitution all who ever practiced it.

As indicated above, prostitution has been a problem of world-wide extent and the traffic in women and girls for immoral purposes has been carried on in many lands. While of diminishing importance in recent years it was of sufficient importance for the League of Nations to take up seriously the study of the "white slave traffic" and consider means of its suppression. The report of their investigation, published in 1927, showed that there is a regular traffic in women and girls going out from Austria, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Spain and Turkey to Argentine, Brazil, Mexico, Panama, Uruguay, Egypt and North Africa. Because of stringent immigration restriction and subsequent deportation, the traffic to the United States had almost ceased. This same report placed the chief blame for the existence of this traffic on the policy of licensing of prostitutes and houses of prostitution, which thus gave the traffickers control over their victims and without which the traffic could hardly be carried on with profit. Governments are now co-operating in attempts to suppress or check not only this traffic but the whole evil of prostitution. This is often a direct change in attitude from the former one of recognition and regulation.

Effects of Immorality.—1. *Disease.*—The two leading diseases spread through prostitution are syphilis and gonorrhea, both of which date back to antiquity. Both are germ diseases, the former being contracted through blood contact and the latter through the tissues. While both are the results of immorality, they may be contracted in other ways than sexual intercourse, such as the use of

infected drinking cups, towels, bed clothing, and water-closet seats. Both can be cured by long and patient treatment, but generally this is not completed, and the poison remains dormant in the system for years after the disease has been apparently cured. This is especially true of syphilis, which has the peculiarity of appearing by stages, often many years apart. While syphilis is generally feared because of its horrible features in the last stages of the disease, and while gonorrhea is often looked upon as a local ailment and of minor importance, even at times being considered as of much the same nature as a cold, gonorrhea is, in fact, much the more serious of the two, both in regard to its effects upon society and because of the greater difficulty of cure. The effects of both diseases upon the offspring are terrible. Eighty per cent of infantile blindness is due to these troubles, both of them being contributory. Syphilis is especially deadly to the fœtus, causing its death or malformation; in fact, hospital records show death-rates as high as sixty to eighty-six per cent for children when the parents were afflicted with syphilis. While less destructive to the offspring, gonorrhea is more serious to the wife and especially destructive to the female organs of reproduction; it has been at the same time the leading cause of male sterility. In addition to one-child marriages, where conception took place before the ravages of diseases were visible, nearly sixty per cent of all involuntary sterile marriages are due to these two diseases. Also sixty per cent of all operations upon women for female troubles are occasioned by sexual diseases. Both have hereditary effects; in fact, the effects of syphilis are inherited to the third generation. Then, too, both diseases weaken the constitution and thus leave the system liable to such diseases as tuberculosis, cancer, and nervous disorders.

When it is considered that some of the best authorities claim that from six to eighteen per cent of the male populations of different countries have syphilis, and from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent have gonorrhea, the seriousness of the problem is apparent. Gonorrhea is per-

haps the most widespread disease among men. European records show that a few years ago seventy-five per cent of the men had it at one time. It has been estimated in the past that from fifty to sixty per cent of the men in the United States have had either one or the other disease. This ratio (possibly too high) has fallen during the past few years, owing largely to education concerning the matter, and to the increasingly greater demands made by women upon the men they marry.

The decline in the United States was shown by the records of our enlisted and drafted men in the recent war. If these records are accurate, only about ten per cent of our male population have these diseases in a serious form.

The effects upon the birth-rate of nations, as well as upon the health of individuals and the morals of society, are, of course, terrible. Venereal disease is probably the greatest cause of the decreasing birth-rate in France. In every country where records have been kept it reveals its devastating effects upon the manhood of the nation. And its indirect influences are hardly less harmful.

2. *Business Organization.*—As has been suggested, prostitution has caused the organization of brothels, which date back to ancient times, and regular methods of supplying the trade with women, now commonly known as the "white slave traffic." This organization interwove itself with many other enterprises. It was vitally connected with the liquor traffic, which fostered prostitution in order to sell more liquor; while prostitution in turn encouraged liquor in order to stir up the passions of people. Many saloons catered to this traffic because of the increased profits; and prostitutes were often hired by saloons in order to stimulate the sale of liquor. The traffic was also interwoven with politics and police administration, and utilized them in defending and protecting the business in much the same manner that the liquor business did.

3. *Family Disorganization.*—While not always mentioned in the bills for divorce, sexual disease and immorality are among the greatest causes of divorce and the breaking up of homes. The laws of nearly all modern nations recognize

this as sufficient ground for divorce. It is also a cause of much marital unhappiness and neglect of children, even when homes are not broken up.

4. *Effect Upon Morals.*—Perhaps the greatest effect, although not the easiest to demonstrate, is the effect upon the morals of society. While a result, it has at the same time helped to keep up the "double standard" which has existed from patriarchal times down to the present day, and which has not been abolished to any great extent even now. Under this system man could do as he pleased, be as immoral as he cared to, and yet pass in the best of society; but if woman departed from the paths of chastity in the slightest, she was immediately ostracized. Women themselves have been much more severe in this ostracism than have men, accepting the sexual irregularity among men as a matter of course, but never forgiving it in members of their own sex. In many sections of this country, especially in the Southern States, this double standard is still binding, and in no place has it been entirely discarded. But there is a tendency towards a single standard for both sexes; it is being established not only by insisting upon a higher standard for men, but unfortunately by lowering the standard for women.

The moral effect extends to all phases of our life. It has corrupted police forces; it has adulterated our business and our legal and ethical codes. It has not only corrupted those who are connected with the evil, but it has affected the whole social fabric. How great has been this moral degeneracy we cannot say, because it does not lend itself to measurement; but without the social evil our morals should be on a vastly higher plane.

Treatment of Prostitution.—Society has always recognized prostitution as an evil, and has continually taken steps to eliminate, check, control, or regulate it. These attempts cannot be discussed chronologically, because several methods generally are found at the same period of time, even in the same country. Also it cannot be treated altogether by countries, because most countries

have tried several methods. We can, however, sum up our treatment under three heads: repression, regulation, and prevention.

1. *Repression.*—At first, repression was exercised through the family; it has been the usual method of procedure in patriarchal countries. This was to protect the purity of the family; and the general method was to execute or ostracize the offending woman, no attention being paid to the offending man. This was the Jewish method of handling the problem, although the Jews treated it from the religious point of view as well as the family one. Throughout the Middle Ages laws and ordinances were passed against prostitution. The bulk of these were aimed at the woman in much the same manner that laws were aimed at criminals and beggars. The prostitute was whipped, branded, put into a cage and ducked until nearly dead from drowning, compelled to wear distinguishing dress, imprisoned, and exposed—often naked—to the public gaze and torment. But all these measures failed, because no attempt was made to prevent the conditions which produced the evil. Yet this method still persists, especially in the United States in the form of fines and imprisonment. While it probably has some effect in checking or holding the evil within bounds, it cannot solve the problem.

2. *Regulation.*—Considering the problem as a more or less necessary evil, many countries have attempted to regulate it, in order to minimize the evil and to protect society. This policy is illustrated in an elementary way in the history of Greece and Rome, and also among some primitive peoples. It was tried out in mediæval times in various places in Europe, in order to keep in check vicious conduct on the part of citizen women, and was thus an attempt to protect the families of citizens, to preserve public order, and to obtain revenue. Houses of prostitution were legalized, in fact often licensed, and prostitutes were compelled either to live in certain sections of the towns or to wear a distinguishing dress, such as a badge. The revenues obtained were made use of, not only by civic,

but even by religious bodies. These restrictions were imposed in order to make the trade less profitable and to lessen the temptation, as well as to fill the treasury.

In modern times regulation has been tried to protect both the family and the patron of the prostitute from disease; in fact, the chief feature of modern regulation has been the attempt to prevent infection from disease. For years France and Germany have licensed prostitutes, Paris adopting the practice of licensing in 1828, although long before that time lists of prostitutes were kept. In both Paris and Berlin weekly or bi-weekly examination of prostitutes for disease is made, and enforced treatment is provided, in case disease is found. While attempts are made to list all prostitutes, Paris is said to have from 50,000 to 60,000 prostitutes while only about 6,000 are registered; for Berlin the figures are from 20,000 to 30,000 with only 3,300 registered. Also, the attempt to stamp out and prevent the infection from disease is a failure, because those who know they have disease do not register and generally escape detection, for a time at least, and also because examination does not always reveal the presence of disease. At first the listing of prostitutes led to many abuses, often forcing women into this life when they slipped from the paths of chastity, or even at times upon suspicoin that they had done so. Now, however, attempts are made by the police to prevent the novice from entering this life; in fact, minors are enrolled only when they are known to be depraved, and attempts are made to permit those capable of reform to re-enter the ranks of society. The present trend is towards the abandonment of the policy of state regulation, as a means of dealing with prostitution. Many countries have some such regulation, but it is employed chiefly because the officials do not know any better method of handling the evil. Modern regulation generally includes some form of segregation, the prostitutes being either compelled to live in certain sections of the city, or forbidden to enter certain sections, in the hope of thus limiting contamination and thereby protecting the rest of society. This has been as

far as regulation in the United States has extended, and as a result of this, coupled with economic conditions, there have developed in practically every large city in the United States at various times segregated vice districts, some cities, such as New York, often having several such districts.

Many American cities have at various times and in different ways adopted, for a while at least, methods of licensing houses of prostitution, as, for example, by means of the payment of fines at regular intervals. More frequently, however, the toleration of such places is the result of graft in connection with politicians and police. Most of the leading cities in the United States have abolished their segregated districts, and the results have been more than favorable, although at times such action apparently has not improved the situation, because it has forced prostitutes more upon the street and into residential districts, and thus has made the evil more conspicuous even if the results are not so bad. When segregated districts are abolished, this law has to be supplemented by measures to prevent soliciting on the streets and the scattering of the prostitutes in other parts of the city. On the whole, regulation does not regulate; at least it does not regulate satisfactorily. France is now seriously considering changing from the policy of regulation to that of suppression, and an early change is expected.

3. *Prevention.*—As in other social problems, present efforts are directed towards prevention of prostitution rather than to its suppression or regulation. While this evil can never be entirely abolished so long as human nature is as it is at present, the worst features of the situation can be eliminated and the evil can be minimized. Already the worst phases, especially the worst features of the "white slave traffic," have been greatly mitigated; no longer does this business loom up as the terrible menace to unprotected womanhood as formerly. The percentage of men who patronize the houses of prostitution has also greatly diminished. Two methods for prevention are now employed: (1) education of the people to the dangers of

prostitution; and (2) the removal of the causes of prostitution.

(1) Education.—In the past not only were young people kept by their parents in ignorance of sex dangers, but anything bearing on the subject was strictly tabooed as a subject of conversation in polite society. Parents allowed their sons to go out into the world without any knowledge of the dangers from venereal disease, and at the same time permitted their daughters to be exposed to the dangers of abduction and seduction by agents of the "white slave traffic." They were also permitted to marry men infected with venereal disease, often in its worst forms, thus entering upon lives of humiliation and suffering, to say nothing of the effect upon the next generation. Seldom did even the most conscientious parents instruct their children in such matters. Instead they forced them to obtain their information from vile and unscientific sources or through their own personal experience. It is no wonder that their sons visited houses of prostitution in order to satisfy their curiosity, and thus became infected with venereal diseases; or that their daughters either married men similarly affected, or were caught by the nets set by the traffickers. No more glaring example of the failure of parents to carry out their duty to their children has probably ever existed than this failure to instruct in regard to the dangers and temptations of sexual vice. Girls were not supposed to know that such an evil as prostitution existed; their minds were supposed to be kept in a pure state, at least until it came time for them to suffer by it, as a large per cent were forced to do sooner or later.

Fortunately for society, these sins of omission on the part of parents are becoming a thing of the past. Society no longer taboos instruction upon these subjects, and the present generation is much better fitted to resist this evil. Modern schools are also attempting to give some instruction in sex matters, although as yet this has seldom been effectively done. Books and magazine articles are appearing upon the subject. Churches and religious organizations are also imparting knowledge on the topic; they are

often too late, however, to do much good, and possibly they fail to reach those who need it most. In former times ministers knew little about society—at least the seminaries gave them little training of this sort—and they were incapable of dealing with the problem. But now the seminaries are slowly, if somewhat reluctantly, giving the ministerial students instruction which will be of practical use to them in the ministry. Ministers are thus becoming better able to grapple with the problem. In short, the members of the coming generation are getting some instruction as to the dangers of the evil, instruction which their parents and grandparents did not receive.

In the past men always demanded chastity of the women they married. Now women are commencing to demand the same of the men they marry, and in the future women will in all probability be as strict in this regard as are men. This will probably go further towards doing away with the evil than anything else, for if men know that it will be practically impossible to marry the women they want, if they have lived improper lives, they will be extremely careful in regard to sowing their wild oats. Then, too, if men know the dangers of disease and the effects of it upon their wives and children, they will be more careful in regard to their conduct. In the past they were usually ignorant of these dangers till it was too late. As a crystallization of public opinion along this line, some of our states have passed—and in all probability in the future more will pass—so-called "eugenic laws" forbidding the marriage of people infected with venereal disease. At present most of these laws have defects and are poorly enforced, but the coming years will probably see the remedying of such defects. Education of the people is necessary before we can expect the enactment of adequate laws, or the enforcement of them after enactment. Education offers us the most effective means of combating this evil.

(2) Removal of the causes.—After we understand the problem and know what conditions contribute to the production of the evil, we can effectively deal with them.

Along this line comes the adoption of minimum wage scales, especially for women, in order to remove the terrible temptation due to economic necessity. Proper building laws and the elimination of slum conditions will be of great value, because in many of our present tenements life is so sordid and privacy is so hard to obtain that vice is almost inevitable. The government has already taken steps to protect immigrant women. Y. W. C. A. organizations are also aiding in the protection of girls coming to cities, as are also all our settlements. The "white slave traffic" is being stamped out more and more vigorously; but we need yet stricter laws, severer penalties, and still more vigorous prosecution. Parks, playgrounds, social centers, and settlements are furnishing more healthful recreation than formerly was obtainable, and so the sordidness and loneliness of the life of the wage-earner are being reduced. As education upon the subject spreads, we can expect to find more and more successful efforts for the removal of the causes of prostitution.

While in the past efforts were aimed at the supply, without paying any attention to the demand side, modern methods are striking at the demand for prostitution and are thus getting at the real roots of the problem. If the demand is eliminated, the supply will automatically disappear. While the evil can never be eradicated, it is by no means hopeless and can be reduced to a minimum.

Thanks to the recent war, we have done much towards the elimination of this evil by curing the diseases found among the soldiers, by educating the soldiers and the civilian population to its dangers, and compelling cities near army camps to clean up their vice districts.

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CHAPTER XXVII

DEFECTIVES

A problem which in the past has attracted little attention but which is one of the most serious confronting the American people is that of feeble-mindedness. And yet it is a problem which lends itself easily to treatment; in fact the danger from it can be easily prevented, for the plan of treatment has been more or less definitely worked out.

What is Feeble-mindedness?—The first question which confronts us is, What is feeble-mindedness? Where are we going to draw the line? In certain communities a person might be perfectly able to keep up the pace, but when transferred to an environment where life is more exacting he might be classed as subnormal. In one class in school a pupil might be able to do good work, but if he should be transferred to a more advanced class he might immediately become the dunce. In other words, the question is to a great extent a relative one. Yet by means of the Binet tests there have been marked out three more or less definite classes of defectives, according to the mental age of the person; that is, according as a person passes these tests with the same agility and accuracy as shown by a normal child of a given age. It is not that the defective knows only as much as a child of that age, for a feeble-minded person of the mental age of eight years remains at the age of eight for the rest of his life; while the normal child is eight but one year, moving on to nine, and during that one year he can acquire as much knowledge as the feeble-minded acquires in the twenty or thirty years that he remains at that age, during which time he may acquire quite a fund of information—that is, such information as an eight-year-old would be able to acquire.

The classification is made on the basis of mental ability. The psychologists use a similar method, known as the *intelligence quotient*—popularly shortened to I. Q., which is reckoned on a percentage basis—an average person being ranked as 100. The three classes into which feeble-minded are divided are as follows:

1. *Idiots,* or those who never exceed the mentality possessed by the normal child of three years. The psychologists classify here those with I. Q.'s between 0 and 25. They not only have little use or understanding of language, but are unable to guard themselves against common dangers, such as falling into fire. Some are not able to walk, to sit up, or even to know when they are hungry or cold. The writer well remembers a ward in the feeble-minded school at Waverly, Massachusetts, in which there were a score or more of this class, the majority of whom would starve to death with food all around them, or freeze unless pains were taken to see that they were covered up and kept warm. In other words, they were great babies and had to be cared for as such. It is this class in regard to which the question is always brought up, Would it not be better quietly to put them out of their misery? This class comprises about ten per cent of the feeble-minded population.

2. *Imbeciles,* or those possessing minds of children from three to seven years of age inclusive. Those with I. Q.'s between 25 and 50 are ranked as imbeciles. People of this class are able to protect themselves against the ordinary dangers of life, such as being run over by a team, falling into fire, or falling and injuring themselves, but they do not possess sufficient brain power to do the commonplace work of life. They are able to play if the play is directed; they can easily be made happy; but they are unable to master more than the bare rudiments of an education, never being able to read or write with any fluency or speed. They form a class which is not able to take care of itself in ordinary society, but which is very easily cared for in the proper institutions.

3. *Morons,* or those having mentalities of from eight to eleven years inclusive. This group includes those with

I. Q.'s between 50 and 70, which is taken as the dividing line between mental deficiency and normality. They are able to do the ordinary work of life, to do customary tasks, and in general to pass in society without attracting much attention. But for this very reason, this class is the most dangerous of all, for it is the one which furnishes many of the criminals, a large percentage of our prostitutes, many of the delinquent children in our juvenile courts and reform schools, and the dull and backward children in our schools. Morons lack the will power to keep out of trouble; they have not the mental firmness to resist temptation, for to be moral or law abiding requires a certain strength of mind. It is this class which is not cared for by our feeble-minded schools, and which is the dangerous one to society, for it is the one whose members reproduce so rapidly. The idiot does not reproduce, and the imbecile seldom mates, while the moron not only does marry but—what is more serious—reproduces out of wedlock.

Extent of Feeble-mindedness.—As to the extent of feeble-mindedness we have no reliable figures to offer, estimates varying from one-third of one per cent to three and four per cent of our population;[1] probably two per cent is more accurate, and this would include many high-grade morons who sometimes manage to care for themselves. The danger is not in our present number, but in the rapidity with which it is increasing. While from eighty-five to ninety-five per cent of our insane are cared for in asylums, only from ten to fifteen per cent of the feeble-minded are so cared for. We do not fear physical violence from them in the way we do from the insane,

[1] These estimates are generally based upon studies made in various communities in different parts of the United States and England and of course vary with conditions found in these localities. The largest body of persons examined were soldiers in the American army during the World War. According to these figures 47.3% of the white drafted men and 89% of the colored drafted men were below 13 years of age mentally. But these tests were given in such a way that the results furnish little indication of the extent of feeble-mindedness in the country.

for in that sense they are harmless. While each thousand of the most fit of our population produce in fifty years 667 descendants, each thousand of the least fit produce 3,650 descendants, or almost six times as many. The morons have the physique, the passions, and the power to reproduce, but they lack the ability to control their passions, and as a result they leave a large progeny. Now every defective is not only a potential delinquent but a probable one, depending upon the hands into which he falls.

Feeble-mindedness and Crime and Vice.—At present we have little control over the feeble-minded person until he or she becomes delinquent; and then control is by means of the reform school, reformatory, or workhouse. From one-tenth to one-half of the children appearing before the juvenile courts are mentally deficient. Healy found 89 morons and 8 imbeciles in 1,000 repeated offenders examined by him.[2] Our reformatories and reform schools often have undue percentages of them. Following are some estimates as to the percentage of feeble-mindedness among the inmates of some of our leading reformatories, based on mental tests:[3]

Institution—	*Per Cent Defective*
St. Cloud Reformatory, Minnesota	54
Rahway Reformatory, New Jersey (Binet test)	46
Bedford Reformatory, New York (under 11 years)	80
Lancaster, Massachusetts (girls' reformatory)	60
Lancaster, Massachusetts (50 paroled girls)	82
Lyman School for Boys, Westboro, Massachusetts	28
Pentonville, Illinois, Juveniles	40
Massachusetts, Reformatory, Concord	52
Newark, New Jersey, Juvenile Court	66
Elmira Reformatory, New York	70
Geneva, Illinois (Binet test)	89
Ohio Boys' School (Binet test)	70
Ohio Girls' School (Binet test)	70
Virginia, Three Reformatories (Binet test)	79
New Jersey State Home for Girls	75
Glen Mills Schools, Pennsylvania, Girls' Dept.	72

[2] Healy, William, *The Individual Delinquent*, p. 139 (Little, Brown, 1915).

[3] Goddard, *Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences*, p. 9 (Macmillan, 1914).

It will be noticed that the percentage of feeble-minded is higher, as a rule, in the female schools than in the male institutions. This is owing to the fact that the feeble-minded girl is more liable to get into trouble than the feeble-minded boy; though it might seem from the data given above that there are more feeble-minded girls than boys, the opposite is true. Feeble-minded girls have less will power in sex matters, and are the prey of unscrupulous men, while the defective man has little attraction for the normal woman. It is generally estimated that fully fifty per cent of our prostitutes are mentally defective. Goddard asserts that at least fifty per cent of the criminals are mentally defective. Anderson, on the other hand, asserts that not more than 10 per cent of offenders in general are feeble-minded but that these cause more trouble than the other 90 per cent.[4] In general most authorities estimate that only from twenty-five to fifty per cent are such. Feeble-minded people are not by nature more vicious or criminal than other people. The ordinary mentally defective person is docile and easy to manage. The trouble with them as a class is that they lack self-control; they are unable to withstand temptation, and so fall easily into vice or crime. They are unable to distinguish clearly between right and wrong. Therefore, instead of being regarded as ordinary criminals they should be treated as children or as insane are treated, and should not be held accountable for their actions. The feeble-minded person has the body of an adult but the mind of a child, and it is illogical and unjust to expect as much from him as from a normal adult. When brought under good influences feeble-minded persons have been known to live unusually moral, law abiding and even religious lives, thus illustrating their ease of control.

The same condition is true of the mentally defective in regard to alcoholism. Since there is less ability to withstand temptation, the feeble-minded person readily falls a victim to drink. Now since the liquor traffic has been

[4] Anderson, V. V., *Boston Med. and Surg. Jour.*, Mar. 22, 1917.

prohibited in the United States, this temptation is much less. Under the old order of things every feeble-minded person was a potential drunkard. All that was needed was to put him in the way of temptation.

Feeble-mindedness and Poverty.—The connection of feeble-mindedness with poverty and pauperism is much the same as with crime. The feeble-minded person lacks the mental capacity to make a living. Under our present economic system the race is for the strong, and the weak are ground under the feet of the strong. The idiot is incapable of doing anything and must become a public or a private charge. The imbecile is able to do simple things, but is not prepared really to support himself under his own direction. The moron is able to work at ordinary labor, but is incapable of planning things, and is therefore unable to direct his life in a rational manner. All of these classes sooner or later are compelled to look to others for help. Some are aided by relatives, but others become public charges. In nearly all of our states, under the present requirements for marriage, the moron and even the imbecile are permitted to marry and thus add to the problem. A number of states have laws in regard to the imbeciles but either no tests are made or the law is seldom enforced. Then it must be remembered that a marriage certificate is not a biological prerequisite to having a child. Some of this class might be able to look after themselves, but when it comes to supporting a family, it is impossible. Added to this is the complicating fact that feeble-minded people have large families, most of whom lead a wretched existence. Their hardships are sometimes alleviated by neighbors and friends, but the problem remains unsolved. Others fall back upon the almshouse or public relief. Goddard thinks it is highly probable that fifty per cent of the pauperism in this country is due to mental defectiveness.[5] While this is unquestionably too high an estimate, the percentage of feeble-minded in our institutions is high.

[5] Goddard, H.H., *Feeble-Mindedness, Its Causes and Consequences*, p. 17 (Macmillan, 1914).

As we indicated before, feeble-mindedness is a relative matter, it being hard to draw the line between those who are defective and those who are normal. It is believed that many, if not the majority, of our ne'er-do-wells are such because they lack the mental capacity to be anything else. Though they may have the ability to work, they lack the ability to plan life intelligently. Their judgment is poor, and their mental capacity is so low that they are unable to adjust themselves to their environment. They may be able to get along during times of prosperity, but when difficulties arise they are incapable of surmounting them.

Feeble-mindedness and Education.—Our schools are full of pupils who are unable to learn. While many of them are backward because of laziness, poor health, insufficient food, and lack of care, others are defective mentally. They have not the same ability to learn as the normal child. They cannot think in abstract terms and they are slow of comprehension or weak in memory, being unable to recall to-morrow what they learn to-day. These pupils clog the schools and handicap the school system. It seems almost useless to try to teach such pupils; they simply are unable to make any progress. The presence of such children is not only an injustice to themselves, since they need special attention, but a hardship to the normal students, who are held back by them. In fact it sometimes seems as if more attention is given the few dull-witted and feeble-minded children than to all the others and that the really brilliant children, who have possibilities of doing things, are neglected entirely and so allowed to form bad habits of loafing and not trained as they should be. While our school systems are now handling the backward children by special classes, in which manual training and the industrial arts are stressed, this means that these mentally deficient children greatly increase school expenses.

The problem of truancy is another in which feeble-mindedness is involved. Many children become truants because they cannot succeed in school. They become discouraged and take this natural method of escape.

Causes of Feeble-mindedness.—Many explanations have been made in regard to causes of feeble-mindedness, particularly of individual cases, but most of these are merely explanations. It was at one time argued that feeble-mindedness was to a great extent the result of consanguineous marriages. Facts, however, do not substantiate such an explanation. While parents of feeble-minded persons are often closely related, so also have been the parents of some of our most able persons. It is now generally agreed that the danger from the intermarriage of relatives is that it increases the defects of that stock. If the stock is above the average the offspring will likewise be above the average but if the stock is bad or is defective in any way intermarriage exaggerates this defect because it is thus inherited from both parents. So if the parents are related and mental deficiency is a family trait the chances of inheriting this defect are increased thereby. All persons have defects of some sort, as a general rule, but in the usual order of things they marry those who have different defects or peculiarities and so balance each other, for in general the person who is defective or deficient in one line, such as defective memory or weak lungs, is attracted by someone who is strong in that particular line but who might possibly be weak or deficient in some other way, such as weak arches, or poor digestion.

Other explanations are that the defect is the result of disease, accident, the use of instruments at birth, or malnutrition. Possibly the most noted advocate of such an explanation is Tredgold,[6] who claims that feeble-mindedness may be frequently traced to an injury to the germ plasm from ancestral alcoholism, tuberculosis, syphilis, etc. These he calls pathological germinal variations and he even goes so far as to attribute possibly 85 per cent of feeble-mindedness to them. The other 15 per cent he would attribute to bodily changes, which he calls somatic modifications, which are due to such diseases as scarlet fever, influenza, meningitis, etc., which produce lesions in the cen-

[6] Tredgold, A. F., *Mental Deficiency,* Chap. III, 4th ed. (Wm. Wood & Co., 1922).

tral nervous system or some deficiency in nutrition of the cells in the central nervous system. While unquestionably such an explanation accounts for some feeble-mindedness it seems hardly justifiable to credit such high percentages to such causes. Many persons not only have these diseases and are perfectly normal mentally but many persons with normal, even brilliant minds are children of parents who have had tuberculosis, or venereal disease, or were confirmed drunkards. This seems more like an explanation of how the defect takes place rather than giving the real cause of feeble-mindedness; in other words, it is an explanation of the means, rather than the cause. Yet there are cases and possibly types of feeble-mindedness which are caused in this manner. The form of mental defectiveness, known as the Mongolian, because of the resemblance to Mongolian physical characteristics, which occur more often in the better families than in the poorer or less capable families, may possibly be accounted for in such a manner.

With the development of Mendelism a new explanation for feeble-mindedness was offered, namely, that feeble-mindedness was a unit character and obeyed the laws of Mendelian inheritance. There arose considerable dispute in regard to whether feeble-mindedness was a dominant or recessive trait. Goddard claimed that it was dominant but in general it was looked upon as recessive. But it is now found from more careful study that feeble-mindedness cannot be thus simply explained. It is now coming to be generally accepted that feeble-mindedness is a multiple instead of a unit character; that it is a combination of many different units. Further study and investigation may even reveal that some of these units are dominant and others are recessive. It is also becoming recognized that there are different kinds of mental deficiency. However, that feeble-mindedness is inherited and runs in families, the same as other traits, is now generally accepted. The difference of views is in regard to just how the defect is inherited and in what proportion.

It is now being realized also that the famous or in-

famous families, such as the Jukes, the Kallikak, Nam, Hill-Folks, Nolly, Zero, Hickory, Ishmael, etc., are not typical families but extremes.

Some of these, due of course more or less to their own inefficiency, have lived in isolated and unproductive regions and have thus had the effect of injurious environment added to defective heredity. It is also being discovered that persons with known mental deficiencies along some lines have been eminent successes in other lines. World famous prize-fighters and even baseball players have been mentally deficient and almost any school campus will reveal students who are athletic stars, who are stupid in the class-room, yet it requires mental as well as physical ability to compete in athletic sports. Some of the world's great musicians have been deficient in ordinary capabilities, such as the ability to handle money and make business arrangements. Yet some of these stars command extremely high salaries and make large incomes and even the defective prize-fighter is much sought after and richly rewarded by society, often more so than the so-called mental genius. Other people cannot learn in school or master book education yet can understand machines and may become very good mechanics and earn good wages. With the general acceptance of the Simon-Binet tests there has been possibly too much stress placed upon certain forms of ability, and a tendency to rank as defective those who lack these peculiar abilities. While we must take all these factors into consideration, we must not forget that feeble-mindedness is a serious social problem and that while a bit hard to define or isolate there is a more or less definite feeble-minded class in society which must be taken into consideration.

Treatment of Feeble-mindedness.—In the past the treatment of feeble-minded persons was one of neglect. Those unable to care for themselves were either left to the care of their relatives, or were thrust into almshouses, along with all other dependants. They were the prey of the stronger, or became an object of sport to the community. The town fool has always been a familiar figure and is

so even to this day, an object of torment for all the boys of the community. Those who were unable to do anything were generally left to the public to support. Special schools for the feeble-minded have existed for a long time, for upwards of a century, in fact, but the trouble has been that all who belong there have not been sent there. In the United States especially we have not had till very recently any laws compelling their segregation and these have never been rigidly enforced. As a result, feeble-minded have been so cared for only when their relatives were willing and when there was plenty of room in special institutions. Another great difficulty has been that the institutions have not had the room to care for the feeble-minded population, having waiting lists longer than the lists of the inmates. Moreover, those who have been admitted have generally been the idiots and low-grade imbeciles who were a burden to their relatives; and so were not wanted. They, as a matter of fact, are the least important, for it makes little difference whether they live or not, and then they never reproduce. The ones who most need to be confined—the high-grade imbeciles and the morons—are cared for least; and yet it is in them that the principal danger lies. It might not be a bad plan for the idiots to be moved out of our special schools and left in the almshouses, or cared for by the towns or counties, and for the schools for feeble-minded to be reserved for the care of the higher classes. If parents object to institutional care there is usually no remedy, and many parents do object through ignorance, not knowing that the child is better off in an institution where he is protected from those with whom he is unable to compete. Our courts are just now commencing to commit the mentally defective who are brought before them to the institutions for the feeble-minded but even when so committed there is often no room in the institution for them.

The modern method is to segregate these unfortunates from society at large, protect them, make their lives as happy as possible, train them to the extent their minds will allow, and make them useful and either self-support-

ing or as nearly so as their capacity will permit. The boys in the brick-yard of the New Jersey school for the feeble-minded at Vineland cost the state before the war only about sixty-nine dollars apiece annually, and produced one hundred dollars' worth of brick each. In the other departments the school is nearly self-supporting; in some, more than self-supporting. Most well-managed schools for the feeble-minded do nearly all their own work, produce most of the things they require, and sell besides some articles for outside consumption; so their cost of upkeep is very small. Work is made as pleasant and congenial as possible, most of the work being done as part of a game. Children alternate their work so as to avoid monotony, spending an hour or so in the school room, then an hour or so in the cobbler's shop or in whatever place they work, then an hour in play, with a competent instructor. The study or work is not allowed to grow wearisome. In the matter of actual instruction less is accomplished than in teaching them to be efficient workers, but by means of a play method a great deal is done.

Madame Montessori borrowed from a Paris school for feeble-minded the system which she gave to the world. It is merely an adaptation to the normal child of methods which for over seventy years had been in vogue for the teaching of the feeble-minded. The senses of touch, taste, and smell are brought into use to supplement that of sight. Instead of dealing with abstract ideas or with imaginary things, the instructors use real loaves of bread, bricks, or apples; and they so manipulate them that the child will readily grasp the point to be learned. Such children should never be compelled to do things, but taught to want to do things. In this way they are often made very useful, especially in such work as caring for other children and doing simple tasks. At Waverly, Massachusetts, the boys as soon as they become grown are sent to another place, where they work at clearing land. This keeps them out in the open and enables them to pay for their keep, and, not being worked hard, they are happy and contented. The majority of the institu-

tions for the feeble-minded are very efficient. All that is needed is an extension of their equipment and the care of all feeble-minded, especially the morons, by the state. This requires proper legislation and adequate enforcement.

In connection with some of our institutions there has been developed the colony plan, which greatly supplements the work done by these institutions. This plan has been in operation for some quarter of a century at the Massachusetts State School for the Feeble-minded at Waverly, Massachusetts. Here carefully selected inmates have been trained and sent out into homes and into industry under supervision. This experience has demonstrated that many feeble-minded, if given special training in forming habits and along suitable lines of work during adolescence, can become economically useful and law-abiding members of society. This plan has been used with possibly the greatest success in connection with the State School for Mental Defectives at Rome, New York, for nearly as long a period of time. There have been established on farms and in town homes about forty groups, who live relatively independent lives under the jurisdiction and supervision of the parent institution. Here they receive special training and most of them are employed on farms, in factories and at domestic service. These colonies use rented quarters and are almost if not wholly self-supporting. It has also been found that with many the colony can be used as a stepping-stone towards ultimate discharge. Some continue to come back and some have to remain all their lives but the expense to the state is greatly reduced, not only in up-keep but in cost of building and maintaining huge institutions.

Then in addition there is need of the extension of special classes in our public school system for those who have sufficient ability to be trained in a limited way. This training must include the development of habits of cleanliness, training of the senses as indicated above, moral education, manual training and physical education. While as much academic education as can be satisfactorily absorbed should be given, the emphasis must be placed on

vocational and industrial education. This may even require follow-up work after leaving the school, placing in positions, finding new places when these are lost and friendly guidance in general.

There is, however, one serious question, even danger, in any program which includes the releasing upon their own responsibilities, even under supervision, of a class of persons who are inferior in intellect and so incapable of holding their own against the unscrupulous and unsocial. This is the danger in bringing into the world another generation of incompetents. Some individuals may be so well sheltered that they will never succumb, or have habits so well developed that they will be able to withstand temptation, but others are not so fortunate. Therefore any program, which includes such a return to society must include at least the partial sterilization of the feeble-minded. If they are kept segregated in an institution there is little need of sterilization but when released many, especially the females, must be made sterile if society is to be absolutely protected. Some fifteen states have already enacted such laws, either requiring or permitting the sterilization of various classes, particularly imbeciles, but only in a few states has there ever been any serious attempt to actually sterilize any given class. Individuals have been sterilized in a number of states, including Wisconsin, Oklahoma, Indiana; California and Oregon have definitely attempted programs for the sterilization of the feeble-minded, who are released from their state institutions for the feeble-minded. This has been the result of attempts to increase the service of these institutions by training their superior types for industry and work outside of the institutions, then sterilize the persons who are released, thus making room for more inmates. In both of these states this plan has been highly successful, although not without opposition, the first Oregon law being, in fact, declared unconstitutional.

There has been, in general, much opposition to sterilization. Religious reasons have been advanced, as, for instance, that it interfered with the Divine plan and was a form of birth control. Others claim that when the fear

of offspring was removed there would be a great increase in vice and immorality, with a consequent spread of the venereal diseases. While there may be some logic in this objection it is not serious, for this class seldom takes consequences into consideration and we already have this class now spreading all these evils, with the added one of reproducing their kind. Sterilization is objected to on the ground that it takes away from a human being an inalienable, God-given right, but in the minds of most thinking persons this is outweighed by the need of protection to society against the danger of being swamped by an inferior class. Others object to it on the ground that it is inhuman and gives to others too great a power; some physicians even claim that its effects are physically and mentally injurious, although the effects on those who have been sterilized do not seem to be serious. Others offer the possibility of cure and while this may be valid to a certain extent in regard to the mentally diseased it is not valid in regard to the mentally deficient. But possibly the greatest practical objection is in regard to what individuals are to be selected for sterilization; in short, where the line is to be drawn and who is to draw it. While it might be agreed upon as general policy that imbeciles and morons should be sterilized, it is another question whether Susie Smith or John Brown is to be sterilized. This is a serious question and unquestionably if any policy or program of sterilization is to be inaugurated it must be put into practice gradually and conservatively, at least till the policy meets with popular approval. It must start with those who come of bad stock but who can make their own living or part of it outside of an institution. It is particularly imperative with females of this class. Then as it meets with approval it may be extended as the need increases. It is along such lines that sterilization will come in if it is to be successfully carried out.

With the development of our knowledge of gland secretions, it is predicted by some that we may even learn to

treat and cure feeble-mindedness. Because of the newness of this branch of medicine it is unwise at present to make any predictions along this line. But even if a cure should be found the question might still arise in regard to the inheritance of the weakness and whether society should permit their inferior stock to propagate. Anyway, we have with us a constantly increasing percentage of mentally deficient and we must deal with them before they swamp us.

Blindness and Deafness.—Blindness and deafness are common and important physical defects requiring attention. A heavy per cent of the cases of blindness are caused by the venereal diseases. Blindness is held in check to a great extent by dropping mercurial solution in the eyes of new-born children. The remedy "606" is stopping to a certain extent the ravages of syphilis. In addition our widespread agitation against the social evil, and the advertising of the effects of immorality are cutting down its extent slowly but steadily. In time we can look for a curtailment of blindness.[7] Deafness is slightly different. While certain forms are inherited like other traits and obeys the laws of Mendelism, deafness is yet not a dangerous problem; in fact a person who is deaf and dumb is very rare. These two problems can be greatly alleviated by proper education. The blind are taught by the sense of touch and raised print. They can easily learn trades and in most cases earn a living without much trouble. The deaf are still better off, for through education they can not only be taught to understand others by speech reading, but many can learn to speak. Then by means of special sign alphabets they can easily communicate; it is only a matter of inconvenience. When only one sense is lacking, the others easily compensate for it by becoming

[7] The 1920 census gives 52,617 blind persons in the United States, as compared with 57,272 enumerated in 1910. (Both of these estimates are probably too low.) Of these 30,199 were males and 22,418 were females; 45,783 were white, 6,306 Negro and 488 Indian, thus showing higher ratios for Negroes and Indians.

keener. Of course, those thus afflicted are always handicapped, except in such arts as music, in which the blind seem to be perfectly able to hold their own. But education solves these problems very easily. They do not present the dangerous feature that feeble-mindedness does, for the blind and deaf have the same control over themselves as normal persons, and so do not propagate any faster than normal people—in fact, not so rapidly, because of the difficulty in finding partners. Moreover, blindness, except in cases due to certain neural defects, is not inherited, and deafness often is not.

Mental Disease.—It is beyond the purpose of this volume to attempt to define mental disease, to discuss its various forms, or to enter into detailed consideration of its causes. Our purpose is merely to call attention to it as a type of defectiveness, and as a part of our treatment of the maladjustments of society. Mental disease is a condition which affects the nervous system, and therefore, the conduct of individuals. As in the case of feeble-mindedness, it is extremely difficult to draw the line between sanity and insanity; in fact no sharp line can be drawn. The perfect man mentally is about as rare as the perfect man physically; yet this does not mean that those who are imperfect are diseased. Many people are peculiar in traits and habits and are known as queer in their temperament, who are by no means considered mentally diseased. Even if a person is eccentric and markedly different from his fellows, he is not necessarily mentally diseased. From the legal point of view, if a person leads a normal life and can successfully attend to his own business, preserves a fair degree of peace with his relatives and neighbors, and is able to share in the ordinary functions of society, he is perfectly sane, even if he be peculiar in a hundred different ways. If a person cannot attend to his own affairs, or if he becomes dangerous to those around him, he may then be declared insane. Because mental disease is a relative thing, it is extremely difficult to obtain data in regard to it, and any statistics which are offered are open to criticism.

It is often asserted that mental disease is a problem of civilization; and in support of this theory statistics showing the increase of mental disease are advanced, data which seem to indicate that as the strain of civilization increases more persons are unable to withstand the pressure and consequently break under it. But when the facts are carefully examined, it is found that a great deal if not all of the increase is due to the fact that an increasingly larger percentage of mentally diseased persons find their way into the asylums and thus are detected and counted. Also because of humane treatment the mentally diseased live longer than formerly. It is observed that more manual laborers become insane than professional people. In fact, the professional men and women who undergo the greatest strain, such as teachers, lawyers, and physicians, present less than one-half the amount of mental disease found among laborers; and the lowest rate of all exists among teachers, who undergo probably the greatest mental strain. It is found that monotony of work is far more injurious than mental strain. A person can endure strain if there is variety. Because of this fact we find a great deal of mental disease among farmers and especially farmers' wives.

There are many forms of mental disease. Some of the leading ones are mania, in which the disease takes an active form, in which the afflicted person appears lucid or normal on most subjects but has delusions in regard to certain subjects, such as religion; dementia, a general decay of the mind, often following some other form of insanity; and paresis, or general paralysis. Students of the subject have made many subdivisions of these forms, and also recognize a large number of other forms of apparent mental disease. Mental disease is also connected with feeble-mindedness and epilepsy. Theoretically the distinction between feeble-mindedness and mental disease is an easy one: those who never attain normal development are classified as feeble-minded, and those who are born normal and develop a normal mind but lose it subsequently are classed as mentally diseased. However, in practice

it is often difficult to draw this line. Epilepsy, as we shall see later, often leads to, or ends in, mental incapacity.

The causes of mental disease are many and varied; the subject is one over which there has been endless dispute. The following are among the causes advanced: epilepsy, mental distress, violent emotion, alcoholism, drugs, influenza, mental strain, senility, congenital defects, heredity, injuries, rheumatism, diseases such as tuberculosis and syphilis, child-birth, religious excitement, monotony, overwork, poor diet, homesickness, jealousy, fright, and business troubles. Thus there are two main groups of causes—heredity and mental strain. Malnutrition and poor functioning of the different organs of the body are nearly always accompaniments of mental disease.

Treatment of the Mentally Diseased.—With primitive man mentally diseased persons were generally deserted or killed, although in some cases they were protected. They were generally mistreated during the Middle Ages, when they were regarded as criminals, and confined in jails and dungeons, loaded with chains, and compelled to endure every indignity. Such methods have been outlawed, and the mentally diseased are now looked upon as unfortunate rather than as delinquent, although it has been only a few years since this country was aroused over the brutal methods of treatment in many of our insane asylums. The care of the mentally diseased is now considered a public duty, it being thought unwise to leave this work to private enterprise or philanthropic bounty. Former methods of restraint, including cell, dungeon, cage, ball and chain, strait-jacket, whip, shower-bath, bleeding, and starving, have given way to kindness. It is very rare that any other methods have to be used. Mental disease is not considered the horrible calamity it once was; much of it is now thought curable. Upon admission to the ordinary asylum to-day, the patient is taken to the hospital, where the case is diagnosed and, if it is found to be subject to treatment, is handled accordingly, either in the hospital or elsewhere. If a mentally diseased person recovers, it is usually during his first year of the disease.

So it is wise and economical to be generous—even lavish—during the first few months, because in this way the state is saved a large future expense. Acute cases need individual treatment, particularly baths, varied diets, and massage, in much the same way that any ordinary sick person does. Chronic cases need custodial care, but fifty per cent of the mentally diseased are quiet and orderly; many are capable of working. Most of our best-equipped asylums have farms attached, where many of the inmates work. Of the methods of construction of asylum buildings, the one most commonly followed in the past has been the large, rectangular dormitory, divided into wards, by which some kind of classification of inmates is made. While this plan attracted attention because it was economical and conducive to a feeling of pride on the part of the residents of the town in which the asylum was located, it is not the best type of construction, because it does not give sufficient opportunity for individual treatment. Similar to this and in many ways superior to it is the pavilion plan, with wings two stories in height, thus giving better light and ventilation.

The approved method to-day is the cottage plan, for much the same reasons that it is the approved method of almshouse construction. In Belgium the colony system was made famous at Gheel, and it has been adopted in several European countries. The bulk of the patients are taken into the homes of the peasants and treated as members of the family. This, however, would not suit American conditions. In Scotland about one-fifth of the patients are boarded out in private families under definite supervision. Here they are treated as members of the family. This method has been followed to some extent in Massachusetts with some of the best patients, with good results. But modern methods include hospital treatment for those capable of recovery, custodial treatment under the cottage plan for chronic cases, and, where possible, colonization on farms of those capable of that work and in need of outdoor life. The physical side is looked after very well at the present day, but the psychological

side is often neglected. Sufficient recreation and amusement are too often lacking, although in most asylums efforts are now being made to remedy this fault.

Another phase of the treatment of the mentally diseased which has been much neglected in the past but which is now beginning to receive attention, especially on the part of the medical profession, is the need of private institutions for the treatment of mental disease, where a person who has a mental or nervous breakdown, or fears one, can go for private treatment in much the same manner that he can go to a hospital or sanitarium for the treatment of a physical disease or injury without any stigma attached. Such hospitals are now being established and with their increase we can look for a decrease in this type of malady. We also need clinics for diagnosis of and prescription for nervous disorders in much the same way that we need clinics for the treatment of physical ills. Preventive medicine is also beginning to render a service here in the way of instruction along the lines of mental hygiene. So, while possibly more difficult than physical disease, mental disease is at last beginning to be treated in the same manner, namely, prevention, treatment and cure whenever possible, with segregation only as a last resort in the case of chronic and incurable cases. This not only will effect a great saving in expense, but will prevent much suffering and misery.

Epilepsy.—Epilepsy is a disease which is receiving more attention now than formerly. There are different forms of this disease and so various classes of epileptics. Some are violent and liable to injure themselves or their companions, while others have the disease in a mild form. Some are able to carry on the ordinary work of life and maintain themselves; while others, because of the frequency and violence of the attacks, are unable to do so. Epilepsy is connected with feeble-mindedness; it is a cause of feeble-mindedness; while on the other hand some feeble-minded persons become epileptic. While epilepsy does not seriously affect the body, it affects the mind, as a rule; and often leads to feeble-mindedness. It is

essentially a nervous disease and is hereditary to a marked degree, but it is also caused by sudden fright, prolonged mental strain, overwork, and debauchery. As noted above, it is often a cause of mental disease.

While formerly either neglected or cared for only in individual cases by physicians, it is now being treated more and more in institutions or colonies. The first colony was at Bielefeld, Germany. Several colonies have been established in the United States, usually with a farm attached, such as the Craig Colony at Sonyea, New York. The modern treatment calls for the cottage plan with an outdoor life, or some form of farm colony, where individual attention can be given and the mental strain and humiliation reduced to a minimum.

Here again medical science is stepping in, not only in the treatment and prevention in the way of mental hygiene but in the actual cure of cases of epilepsy. It has been discovered that at least some forms of epilepsy are the result of tumors in the brain and that by means of an injection in the spinal column the location of the tumor can be determined by means of an X-ray photograph and then by trepanning the skull the tumor can be removed. While this treatment is still not completely developed and it is not known how many forms of epilepsy are caused in this way, this discovery means much towards the elimination of a social problem.

On the whole, mental disease and epilepsy are not the dangerous problem for society that feeble-mindedness is. The mentally diseased are kept in institutions, and the problem in connection with them is largely one of wise and humane treatment so as to cure as many as possible, also to provide treatment in the early stages of the disease. With epilepsy the case is largely the same. We deal with the problem in much the same manner as with mental disease, and are at last taking steps to prevent its injuring society. As to feeble-mindedness, we have not yet awakened to the danger of the situation; yet this problem is by far the most serious of the three.

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Part VII

SOCIAL PROGRESS

CHAPTER XXVIII

PROGRESS

Many attempts have been made to define progress, such as "an increase in human happiness";[1] "the improvement of society"; "social betterment"; "the conquest of nature"; and "the accumulation of knowledge." Our purpose will not be to add to any such list, but to try to gain some conception of what progress is, and then to see if society actually is progressing.

Conception of Progress.—Progress might be interpreted as a greater assurance of the survival of the race or the preservation of human society. At first man lived on a very slender margin of safety, being in danger of extermination at almost any time and liable to perish in the face of any great disaster. Anthropologists tell us that countless groups or bands of people must have perished utterly, either being exterminated by stronger bands, or dying as the result of some disaster. Biblical history and legends of many lands tell us of a deluge in the early history of man which nearly caused the complete obliteration of mankind. Anthropologists also tell us of other disasters and the destruction of races at other times, such as the extermination of the Neanderthal man by the Cro-Magnon. Even history of comparatively recent times tells us of disasters and conflicts which have been very destructive; like the various waves of Mongolian migration, the campaigns of Attila, and the Mohammedan conquests. The Black Death caused the loss of a large percentage of the population of Europe, and the recent World War threatened the retardation of society, while causing the death of millions. Even now some students point to a

[1] Ward, L. F., *Dynamic Sociology*, 11, 174–177 (Appleton, 1883).

time in the near future when the world will be so densely populated that subsistence will be extremely difficult if not impossible; and some even go so far as to predict the extermination of society itself. Progress then would include the ability to combat such dangers and to guarantee future existence to society. While undoubtedly this is essential to progress, the elimination of danger is not all. Progress is more than an insurance policy. It is not merely a negative concept, but it is also positive and must offer some other goal than mere existence.

Progress is more than the mere survival of society; it must include a more complete life and offer a fuller existence. It must mean greater happiness, loftier conceptions of the meaning of life itself, and the more harmonious mingling of individuals in society. It must mean a better functioning of social institutions. These must not only hold individuals in check, but must offer more in return; they must serve as well as protect society. Progress includes not only the abolition of evils in society, but the promotion of a better and happier state of affairs. It is not limited to the mere securing of a greater abundance and better quality of food, of more and better clothing, of more commodious and comfortable houses, of shorter hours and more congenial conditions of labor, and of more sanitary and healthful environment, desirable as such conditions are. All these we strive for and must take into consideration in any conception of progress, but progress means more. It includes also more culture, better education, a greater production and appreciation of art, and the satisfaction of the æsthetic senses. It means still more, for it must include a loftier and more general diffusion of moral and spiritual uplift. It must include a greater development of the spirit of altruism; the appreciation of the rights of others. It means a greater dispensation of justice and spread of democracy; the increase of the equality of opportunity, and a greater development of the sense of social service; the greater substitution of what we can do for, rather than what we can get from, society. To express this briefly, progress must include a greater

spread of the doctrine of "the Golden Rule." While other conceptions of progress might be added or substituted, the above is an attempt to outline progress as the sociologist sees it.

Now in regard to our second question: Are we progressing? The question is frequently asked and in many quarters answered in the negative. There is no question as to progress in the increase of knowledge, in the production of wealth, and in industrial development. In economic life progress is so self-evident that there is no room for argument. But when the welfare of those engaged in industry is considered, there is plenty of room for argument. In regard to religious and moral welfare we constantly hear people bemoaning a supposed decline or degeneracy. The family is even criticized at times as failing in its mission, and men sometimes say that it has outlived its usefulness. Pessimists are constantly reminding us that things are going from bad to worse. Such criticisms have greatly increased since the World War because of the far-reaching changes, not all, of course, for the best, which have come in as a result of the war. While scientific and industrial progress has more than kept pace many have pointed out that moral, religious and social advance has not kept pace. Some even have gone as far as to claim a recession. While undoubtedly lapses are made and ground is lost at times it is always wise to compare present conditions with those of a few hundred years ago before any final estimate is made.[2]

Social Institutions Becoming More Useful.—*Family.*—Under matriarchy the family relationship often broke down and the family did not always serve as it should; at best it was a more or less makeshift arrangement. Under patriarchy it was solidified, although by the subjection of the wife and children to the male. Woman be-

[2] Throughout this work the present writer has endeavored not to permit his own opinions to creep in or to allow the truth to be warped by his own estimates; but in this present chapter it may be possible that he has allowed his own optimism to color his treatment of progress. So the student or reader is hereby warned to consider critically the writer's treatment of the subject.

came either degraded in position or a servant to her husband, often a mere chattel in his household. As time has passed, the position of woman has become more elevated and her lot made easier, until now in most countries she bids fair to stand upon the same footing as man and to enjoy equal privileges and opportunities. The family is also functioning better in regard to the children than formerly. At one time children could be, and often were, sold into slavery. Under patriarchy the father had the right of life and death over them, just as he did over his wife, a condition which no longer exists in civilized countries. Formerly children were much neglected—and in some cases are even to-day, but not to the degree that they formerly were. On the whole, the family is functioning much better than it ever did in the past. Much more is expected of the family relationship; we now demand happiness and comfort, whereas formerly the family was looked upon chiefly as a means of continuing the race.

Government.—In regard to government, there is constant, although irregular, evolution; a government which does not serve the people is sooner or later supplanted by one which does. When a government becomes tyrannical or oppressive it is overthrown as soon as the forces which have been held back become strong enough to assert themselves. There has been a constant growth in the part taken in government by the people governed. At first government was largely a form of machinery used to carry out the selfish interests of a few; but now government to be successful must serve the people in the best manner possible. Of recent years there has been a growing tendency towards republics or constitutional forms of government. Even within these forms there is a steady growth in the usefulness of government. In our own country we are constantly striving to eliminate privilege and graft and to serve the people in a better manner. While all governments are far from perfect—in fact they all have many flaws—there is no comparison between the service to people rendered by a modern government, such as that of the United States, Great Britain, France, or

Germany, and that of Babylon, Ancient Egypt, Assyria, Persia, or even Rome. The ancient government was cruel, narrow, and tyrannical; the modern government protects and serves its citizens, although at times it may dominate or exploit them.

Religion.—We often hear of the decline in religion—of the claim that religion is dying out. While formalism in religion is decreasing and the arbitrary control of religion is diminishing, religion itself is becoming purer and more useful to man. With primitive religion control was obtained through superstition and fear. Under early Christianity, even down to Puritan times, control was exercised to a great extent through fear. Religion in the past was narrow; one form of religion would not tolerate another. Indeed, under Christianity horrible persecutions were carried out in the name of religion, simply because of the narrowness and bigotry of religious leaders. Religion, like government, is becoming less arbitrary and is seeking to serve mankind more and more. In our study of religion we noticed a steady evolution which has by no means stopped but is steadily going on. While there are attempts to solidify and harden religion by forcing it into some definite frame in the way of a creed, dogma, ritual or formality, that religion either gives way to a loftier and purer religion or breaks its shell and develops a purer and nobler conception. Christianity has already survived several such attempts and is just now beginning to recover from the latest attempt to force it into a strait-jacket on the part of the Fundamentalists. While the Western world may never be able to really grasp the finer elements of Christianity the Orient may be able not only to grasp them and appreciate them but may even be able to carry it on to greater heights. But even here in the Occident we are beginning to grasp, at least some of our religious thinkers and leaders are able to do so, what Christianity means and to appreciate it more and more. We are beginning to feel its warmth and love and not to look upon it as a set of rules or a formal creed or ritual. We are possibly believing less but we are practicing it more

in our everyday life. It is also becoming more of an individual concern rather than a group practice.

Moral Standards and Ideals.—As society advances, ethical standards and ideals become loftier and purer. If we compare our codes of ethics with those of Babylon or Ancient Egypt, or of the early Hebrews and Greeks, we shall be surprised by the contrast. We shall find that old ideas of revenge, such as the doctrine of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth," are supplanted by Christian principles of reconciliation and forgiveness. We no longer sanction slavery and infanticide. We have ceased to torture prisoners and witnesses, or to invent ingenious methods of inflicting the most pain imaginable upon criminals. We even condemn wife-beating and child labor, and try to reform criminals when it is possible—ideals which in times past would have been scoffed at as insane. We demand an equality of opportunity for all. While occasionally we may lapse in our moral standards, it is nearly always because we have outgrown the old standard before a new one has been formed.

Education.—Although our educational systems come in for much criticism, education is constantly becoming more useful. The very fact that we find flaws in our educational methods is a hopeful sign. Probably the greatest advance in education is the putting of it within the reach of all, instead of restricting it to only a few, as in the past. Education is designed more and more to serve the individual and to benefit society as a whole.

In brief, the institutions of society are all becoming more useful to society. Society is continually breaking down the control of institutions over individuals and reshaping them so as to be of greater service to mankind.

Society Functioning More Perfectly.—The interests in society are becoming more healthful and less selfish and individualistic. The spirit of altruism is steadily developing, and we are more and more willing to seek the interests of others than ourselves. Even nations are coming to adopt such an attitude, as evinced by the colonial policy of Great Britain and by the attitude of the United

States towards her neighbors, especially Mexico. Economic interests are now being forced to recognize the health interests of the workers. Society is continually trying to curb and hold in check selfish interests that are injurious to the public, and to eliminate organizations and groups centered about such interests, such as the liquor business, prostitution, and political rings. While individual interests will always be more or less selfish, society is continually holding this tendency in check and striving to make them more healthful and useful to society, as well as to the individuals profiting by them.

Systems or means of control are becoming more efficient. Public opinion is now more rational and effective, since we are constantly improving our means of communication, thus enabling it to become more enlightened. It is being educated by use, and thus is becoming more efficient as a means of control. Laws are being made more democratic and practical. During the past few years we have had a remarkable development in social legislation. Practically all European nations have accident insurance for workers in industry, and over half of them have systems of sickness insurance. Many have systems of old age pensions. In the United States we are backward in this line but have made some progress during the last few years, and just now are showing signs of soon being abreast of other countries. Already we have systems of workmen's compensation in nearly all of our states, mothers' pension legislation in 1925 in forty-two states; minimum wage laws for women and minors, in some form, in twelve states in 1924, although such legislation has been hindered by adverse court decisions; and even old age pensions in five states in 1927. Also much sentiment is being created in favor of health insurance and a system of permanent employment bureaus, patterned after the system which was so successful during the war. We are adopting laws protecting the health and morals of workers in all branches of industry. Laws have been passed by many states regulating the hours of work for women and minors, restricting night work, and gen-

erally limiting the hours for women to eight. In industries where long hours are dangerous to the public, like railroading, we are adopting shorter hours, sometimes through voluntary action, and sometimes by means of legislation. Laws have been passed protecting the health of workers in many of the dangerous and unhealthful industries, such as that forbidding the use of phosphorus in the manufacture of matches. Laws are rapidly compelling manufacturers to protect their workers from dangerous machinery by the use of safety devices and guards.

In the past laws were made by the strong for their own interests; now they are being made to control the strong and to protect the weak. We are passing laws against rebating, pooling, and other illegal methods of competition in business. In our legal machinery we are giving the weak a better chance for justice, as illustrated by the instituting of the public defender.

As already suggested, control by religion, while it is breaking down in direct effectiveness, is becoming more helpful both to the individual and to society. Instead of standing in the way of reform, religion is now doing its utmost to bring reforms to pass. It is teaching its followers to be more useful to society, by teaching them to help society, rather than to isolate themselves from the world. Control by education, ideals, and enlightenment is becoming more and more important. Increasingly are scientists, professional men, and experts called into consultation or placed in positions of responsibility. Not only is social control more efficient, but it is affording a larger share of equality than in the past. Instead of being employed for the interests of some one class, control now aims towards greater liberty and democracy. Control by artificial means, such as superstition, ceremony, habit, and custom, is becoming less and less important; while control by means of public opinion, education, and enlightenment is greatly increasing.

Our whole social organization is working together in a more harmonious manner; that is, it allows greater moral development and wider equalization of opportuni-

ties. There may, however, be more criticism of our social order, for the simple reason that where the worst conditions in society exist, the lower classes are held down in such wretchedness and helplessness that they are unable to protest, or have no hope of improving their condition. We find a constant tendency towards the socializing of our institutions. In our political life we find socialistic tendencies constantly coming to the front, in some countries through a definite socialistic party, and in others, especially the United States and Great Britain, in the adopting by the great political parties of socialistic policies, such as social insurance in Great Britain and government control in this country. While we may criticize the condition of social classes, especially in some countries, the social order of the present is far preferable to the social order of the past. Our class distinctions may be obnoxious and disagreeable at times, but they do not stand in the way of equality, liberty, and progress, as did the social orders of such countries as Egypt, Persia, Greece, Rome, France under the Bourbons, Russia under the Romanoffs, and any of the countries during mediæval days. We, of course, have faults in our present social order but we are constantly striving to remove the causes of these and to smooth over the rough spots. New problems are, of course, developing with the change in methods and the ushering in of new orders, like those caused by the invention of machines or by scientific discoveries, but society grapples with such difficulties and overcomes them. While society is constantly becoming more complex and intricate in its organization, it is functioning more successfully than the social organization of the past, in that it is serving humanity better and allowing greater progress along all lines.

Social Maladjustment Becoming Less Harmful.—Although we are constantly being warned of the danger of some evil in society, and people are continually becoming alarmed over the rise of some new condition, the great problems of yesterday are steadily becoming less difficult, and we are meeting and grappling successfully

with the new dangers that arise. Poverty and crime have always been our greatest social problems; at various times they have been considered hopeless, and often society has been alarmed by their overwhelming proportions. While both of these great problems are with us—and always will be in some form—we no longer look upon them as hopeless. We are now digging up their roots and striving to eliminate their causes as well as applying enlightened methods of treatment to those who suffer from them. In regard to crime, we are endeavoring to protect society and to reform all of our criminals who are capable of reform, and at the same time are attempting to extirpate the causes of crime and to prevent their producing future criminals. Though our efforts may be crude and clumsy, and though we often fail in our plans, we are working in the right direction and are achieving results.

The liquor habit was one that in former times we looked upon not as a serious problem but as a natural condition. Later we became alarmed and started to deal with it, but without much success except in the way of educating the people in regard to its evils and creating public sentiment against it. Then when sentiment was sufficiently developed, we systematically went about its solution in the United States and adopted prohibition; thus we have reduced the problem to one of law enforcement. In Europe since the beginning of the World War gigantic strides have been taken in the same direction, and the handling of the question even there, where it was more firmly entrenched than in the United States, is meeting with a measure of success.

In regard to immorality, while conditions have been bad during the past few decades, it has by no means approached the proportions it attained in Rome and in Europe during the Middle Ages. We are also pushing this problem into the background by trying less to curb or suppress the outward symptoms, and striking instead at the root of the evil by eliminating the causes of the conditions. We are trying to eliminate the demand for the evil, instead of merely dealing with the supply side

of the problem. As in our treatment of crime, instead of trying to suppress vice we are trying to prevent it. Our efforts in this direction have thus far met with only moderate success in this country, but we are advancing.

In regard to the defective classes, we are again trying to deal with the problem in a constructive manner—that of elimination, in as humane and altruistic a manner as possible. We are endeavoring to eliminate these classes largely by preventing their propagation, and the consequent bringing in of future generations of defectives to take their place. Thus instead of becoming overwhelmed by the dangerous classes, we shall eliminate them. We have not progressed very far in this policy in the case of the feeble-minded, but we are awakening to the need of action and soon shall be handling the question in a scientific manner.

While our outlook is optimistic, improvement will not come about without continuous struggle and effort; hence the constant need of the trained sociologist as well as of the reformer. It will require the conscious endeavor of society and a steady determination to achieve progress. Instead of a *laissez faire* policy, constant struggle and effort are necessary.

At the present time the tremendous world conflict through which we have just passed, the greatest and most disastrous struggle that history has known, seems to deny, or at least shake, any such optimistic philosophy. At the beginning of the war it seemed as if the knell of European civilization might have been sounded, and even now, after the war has been over for some time, this possibility has not been entirely banished. But we are living entirely too near the terrible struggle to see it in its true perspective. The war, terrible as it has been, may make possible a measure of achievement which would have been impossible without it. The French Revolution seemed terrible in its bloodshed, but the later prosperous and happy France would not have been possible without it. The Chicago fire and the San Francisco earthquake were terrible disasters, but the present Chicago and San Fran-

cisco would have been impossible without them. Similarly the burning of Rome and London were blessings in disguise. Out of the ruins caused by the recent struggle there may emerge a free and prosperous Europe, and a plane of civilization may be reached which would have been impossible without this colossal holocaust. Already the indications are that a condition of greater democracy and political freedom will be achieved, as well as greater social advances. Perhaps the world needed such a terrible test of fire to bring out the finer qualities of character and to produce a higher type of civilization. Such has been the history of the past; and the present indications are that the recent war, instead of standing in the way of progress, will permit still greater progress in the future.

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